

Rafał Kosiński
Holiness and Power

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Rafał Kosiński

Holiness and Power

Constantinopolitan Holy Men and Authority in
the 5th Century

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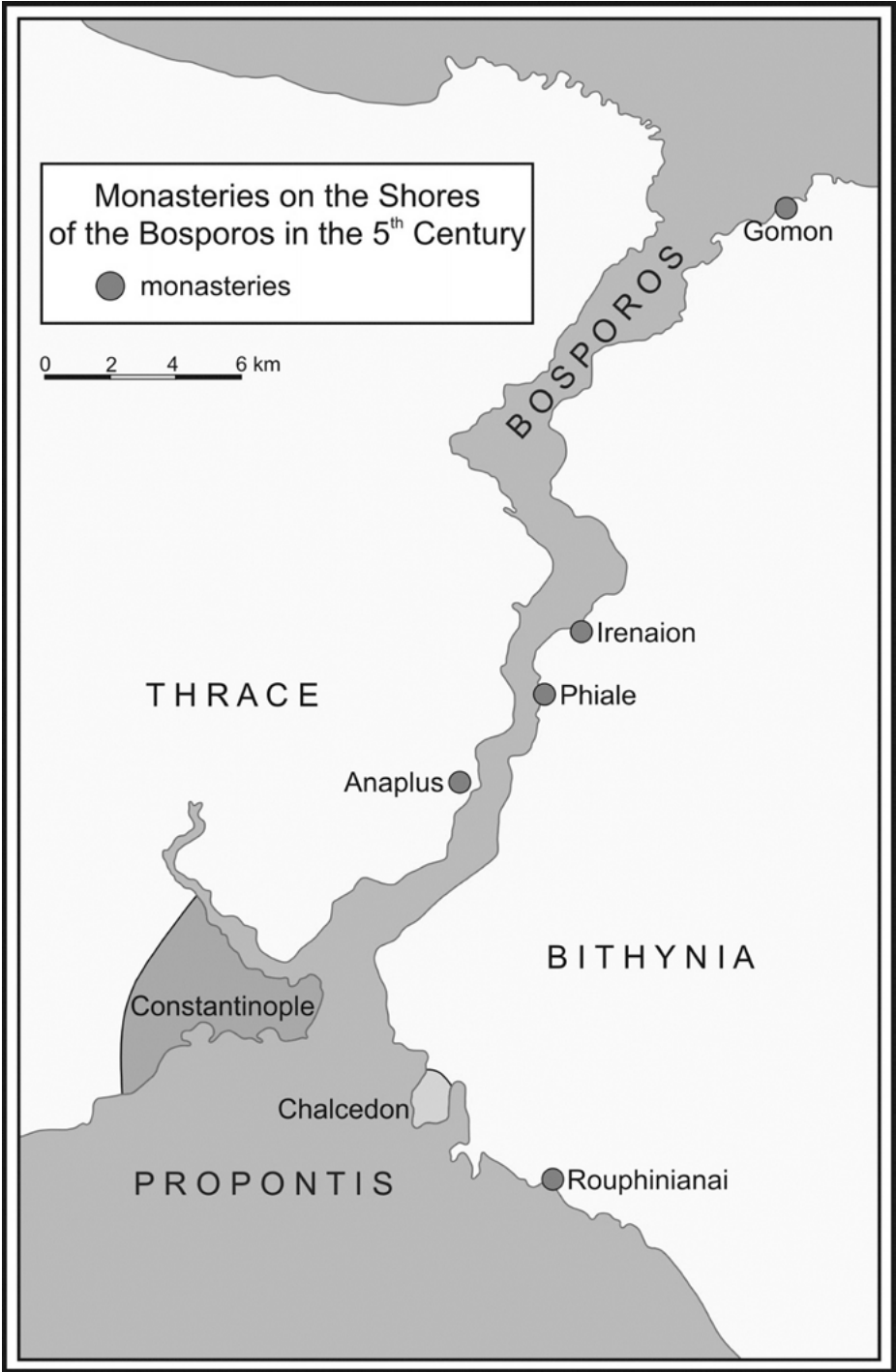
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List of Abbreviations

AP –	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i> , alphabetical collection
Ep. –	<i>Epistulae</i>
Hist. Ecc. –	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
HL –	PALLADIUS, <i>Historia Lausiaca</i>
HR –	THEODORET, <i>Historia Religiosa</i>
ODB –	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , edited by A. P. KAZHDAN, New York – Oxford 1991.
PL –	<i>Pachomiana Latina</i>
PCBE, 3 –	<i>Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire</i> , vol. 3, S. DESTEPHEN, <i>Prosopographie du Diocèse d'Asie (325–641)</i> , Paris 2008.
PLRE, vol. I –	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. I, AD 260–395, edited by A. H. M. JONES, J. R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, Cambridge 1971.
PLRE –	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. II, AD 395–527, edited by J. R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge-New York 1980.
VA –	ATHANASIUS, <i>Vita Antonii</i>
VAL –	<i>Vita Alexandrii</i>
VD –	<i>Vita Danielis Stylitae</i>
VH –	KALLINIKOS, <i>Vita Hypatii</i>
VM –	<i>Vita Marcelli</i>



Map 2: Monasteries on the Shores of the Bosphoros in the 5th Century

Introduction

Who is a holy man? Who deserves this designation? What is holiness itself? These questions were often asked throughout history and the answers were sought in theology, mysticism, and, finally, in philosophy. In the 20th century, holiness became a subject of scientific investigation, especially as part of the phenomenology of religion,¹ but also in historical sciences, particularly in the history of religion. This work is concerned with the problem of holiness, its main objective being an analysis of the ideal of the relation between the 5th-century holy man of Constantinople and authority, as presented in the hagiographical literature created in the immediate proximity of the Roman Empire's eastern capital, as well as an attempt to find out which historical factors may have influenced the shape of the ideal in question. There are several reasons for my choice of this subject.

In the first place, holy men occupied a special place in Byzantine society, including both religious and political life, although this place evolved in the course of Byzantine history. Following the Empire's loss of vast territories in consequence of the wars in the 7th century, the majority of Byzantine holy men came from Constantinople.² However, the situation was very different from the 5th century, when the holy man was a novel phenomenon in Constantinople. During the 5th century, orthodox monasticism, which reached the capital only relatively late, gradually consolidated its position and took its place within the existing ecclesiastical and political structures of Constantinople and the entire metropolitan region. It may be assumed that the ideal of the holy man as present in the capital must have been different at that new location from the one elaborated in Egypt, Syria, or Palestine, mostly because of the fact that the capital necessitated more frequent contact with the authorities, aristocracy, and high-ranking clergy. Second, Constantinople enjoyed a particularly prominent position in the 5th century, not just in the eastern part of the Empire. The capital was the place where the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop, later the Patriarch of Constantinople, connected with the supreme Imperial power. The 5th century was the period when the emperors would usually reside at the capital, hence the city maintained the status of the Empire's political centre.³ Third, in the research to

1 Cf., e.g., the pioneering works dealing with the phenomenology of religion: OTTO (1917) or SCHELER (1921).

2 Cf. KAZHDAN (1991k), p. 1828.

3 There is a substantial body of literature devoted to Constantinople. At this point, I shall only mention the works that are, in my opinion, of greatest value. No reference is made here to literature which focuses on particular details. The most significant work, thus far, on the origin and functioning of Constantinople in the 4th and 5th centuries is, no doubt, the comprehensive work by DAGRON (1974). Other works are of a more limited scope, even though many of them also contribute some valuable observations, cf. BECK (1980a), pp. 29–37; BECK (1962), pp. 11–45; C. MANGO (1985) and LESZKA, WOLIŃSKA (2011). More in-depth research into Constantinople's topography was carried

date concerning holy men, hagiography, and monasticism, Constantinople is a neglected location despite the significance of its monastic life and the many outstanding holy men in the city, through that particular period and in the following centuries alike.⁴ The reliance on the hagiographical sources stems from the fact that they best reflect the ideals originated in monastic circles, which would often tend to shape their form and ideological content in order to disseminate them beyond the confines of the monasteries. I will also attempt to confront the view, popular in scholarly circles, that the characteristic feature of Late Antique hagiography is the withdrawal of the protagonist from the urban space, allowing the holy man to disentangle himself from his obligations towards society and authority, and thus subordinating him solely to God (considering that the *vitae* would have been produced within circles associated with the great metropolitan centre, i.e., the seat of the supreme authority).⁵

The subject of this analysis is the ideal (the concept present in the *vitae*) that is, on the one hand, a reflection of the actual reality, while on the other a postulated, and often unfulfilled, vision. The *vitae* demonstrate, above all else, certain model situations. They refer primarily to statements attributed to the holy men, which were formulated by the author in accordance with his views and knowledge. Since no individual *vita* can offer a basis for determining with any certainty whether some particular event described would actually have taken place or whether they are simply the product of the author's imagination, I assume that the possible evolution of the notion of the relation between the holy man and the authority, as evident in many individual *vitae*, relates to the authors, not the protagonists. Therefore, I take the information found in the relevant material as relating to the author and interpret it as such. This does not mean, however, that I am not concerned with the historicity of information. Wherever possible, I will make an attempt to interpret certain hagiographical depictions, as this may help in answering the question how much true to, or different from, reality the ideal represented in the work really was.

The historical analysis, contained in the last chapter of this book, is concerned primarily with the factors that influenced the specific ideal depicted by the authors of the *vitae*. At the same time, it should be noted that the hagiographer's formation

out by JANIN (1964) and JANIN (1953); certain parts of the city are also discussed in GUILLAND (1969).

⁴ Concerning the history of the origin and growth of Constantinople's monasticism, we only have at our disposal the two works written at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (although many of them are still valid, especially those by Pargoire) and one outstanding article by Dagron, written after 1945, even though the author takes the year 451 and the Council of Chalcedon as final, thus limiting his coverage. Cf. MARIN (1897); PARGOIRE (1899), pp. 67–143; DAGRON (1970), pp. 229–276; HATLIE (2008), pp. 27–132. The other works deal only with issues relating to the individual monasteries, especially that of the *Akoimetoï*, but even these come from the late 19th or the early 20th century, cf. PARGOIRE (1898–1899a), pp. 304–308, 365–372; PARGOIRE (1899b), pp. 429–477; PARGOIRE (1903), cols. 307–321; PARGOIRE (1912), pp. 21–25; GRUMEL (1937), cols. 169–175; RIEDINGER (1978), pp. 148–153.

⁵ Cf. PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 110; KAZHDAN, TALBOT (1991), p. 897.

had been taking its shape over a period of several dozen years, hence I believe it is necessary to make reference not only to the time immediately preceding the writing of the work but also to earlier periods.

The people within the Late Antique Church would mostly encounter two types of authority: secular (the emperor, his administration, and the military) and ecclesiastical (bishops and the subordinate church hierarchy). Other significant figures were those who possessed some real influence in relation to either authority, e. g., Imperial families or prominent people. Since these two types of authority are generally autonomous, I will proceed to discuss them individually in each one of the *vitae*.

There are extant *vitae* of several holy men living in Constantinople from the period of the initial monastic foundations until the end of the 5th century. These are the *Lives* of: Isaac (BHG 955–956e), John Chrysostom (BHG 870–881z), Dalmatios and his son Faustos (BHG 481–483), Hypatios (BHG 760), Alexander *Akoimetos* (BHG 47), Auxentios (BHG 199–203c), Markellos *Akoimetos* (BHG 1027z-1028), John Kalybites (BHG 868–869 h), and Daniel the Stylite (BHG 489–490e). Not all of the above-mentioned figures will be considered as the basis for our discussion. Due to the fact that the ideal I have chosen to examine was subject to transformation, I shall only focus on analyzing those *vitae* which are dated to a period of several dozen years after the death of the chief protagonist, therefore I will not examine sources written later than the 6th century, those with an unidentified writing tradition (lacking a critical edition that would have made their dating possible), and those which have been rewritten by Simeon Metaphrastes or other later editors.

Unfortunately, the majority of the above-mentioned *vitae* come from the later times. The *Life of Isaac* has survived in two versions: the longer one had been written somewhere between the late 6th and the 8th century, while the shorter one appears to be older, yet it too cannot be dated with any certainty. Both of these versions do not have any critical editions.⁶ The *Life of Dalmatios and Faustos* has survived in two versions as well; however, their tradition is uncertain, which makes any dating impossible.⁷ The *Life of Auxentios* has been preserved in a great number of versions, yet the earliest one is Metaphrastic, which also makes it unfit for the purpose of analysis.⁸ There are also many versions of the *Life of John Kalybites*, but, unfortunately, in this case too, according to Lampsidis' findings, the oldest one had been composed

⁶ Cf. DAGRON (1970), note 10, p. 231; SNEE (1985), 405 (especially note 54). Both versions published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 30 May, vol. VII, pp. 243–255. It should be noted that the value of individual volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* is very diverse, with some very bad editing of certain 18th- and 19th-century volumes, cf. VAN OMMESLAEGHE (1981), p. 156.

⁷ Cf. DAGRON (1970), note 10, p. 231; the first version published in BANDURI (1711), pp. 695–710, the second in GÉDÉON (1839), pp. 145–148. In the *Acta Sanctorum*, 3 August, vol. I, pp. 214–225, there is a Latin translation of Banduri's version.

⁸ Cf. AUZÉPY (1995), pp. 206–211. The Metaphrastic *Vita* was published in PG, vol. 114, cols. 1375–1436, whereas the later one, written by Psellos, in JOANNOU (1971).

at the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, at the earliest.⁹ From the remaining *vitae*, I have also left out the lives of John Chrysostom, including the work of Palladius, on account of the fact that John Chrysostom had been active as Bishop of Constantinople, not as a holy ascetic. His position as the head of the Church of Constantinople would have shaped his relations with subordinate priests and monks, as well as with the emperor and the state authorities. Besides, taking this particular *vita* (which was composed far from the circles of Constantinopolitan monasticism) into consideration would have dimmed the vision of the ideal as present in the other *vitae*.¹⁰

I have decided to follow through with an analysis of the remaining four *vitae*, composed in the monastic circles of Constantinople over a span of nearly a century, from ca. 447 to the 510s. The lives of Hypatios, Alexander *Akoimetos*, and Daniel the Stylite were written within a very brief time-span following on from the death of the protagonists, and all of the authors were associated with the holy men, whereas the *Life of Markellos* was composed 30 years, at the latest, after the *Akoimeto*i hegumen's death. These are therefore the earliest works of hagiography dealing with Constantinople and the birth of the monastic movement in the city. For the purpose of this analysis, I have chosen to rely on the following editions: CALLINICOS, *Vie d'Hypatios*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par GÉRARD J. M. BARTELINK, *Sources chrétiennes* 177, Paris 1971; *Vita Alexandri*, ed. et introduction par ÉMILE DE STOOP, *Patrologia Orientalis*, tome VI, fasc. 5, pp. 645–705 [1–65]; *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, ed. HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (1913), pp. 121–229; “La Vie ancienne de saint Marcel l'Acemete” ed. GILBERT DAGRON, *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1968), pp. 271–321.¹¹

As a general rule, the Greek proper names are transliterated, except for those names which have generally accepted counterparts in English, in either Latinized or Anglicized versions, such as Nestorius, John Chrysostom, etc. Biblical citations and abbreviations of the books of the Bible are given in accordance with *The New Jerusalem Bible*. The words “capital” and “the City” are used to refer to Constantinople. When reference is made to Rome, it is clearly indicated. Similarly, when the words “the Empire” and “emperor” are used, they refer to the Eastern Roman Empire and the ruler of that part of the empire, respectively, whereas any references to the Western Roman Empire and its rulers are explicitly indicated. Names of Imperial officials are generally used in their Latin forms, at times the existing anglicized forms

⁹ Cf. LAMPSIDIS (1964), pp. 259–260 (the oldest version of the *Life of John Kalybites* published on pp. 262–272).

¹⁰ On John Chrysostom's tenure as Bishop of Constantinople, his ecclesial and political activity, attitude towards monasticism, and the reasons for his fall, see KELLY (2001), pp. 115–281; LIEBESCHUETZ (1992), pp. 157–227; LIEBESCHUETZ (1984), pp. 85–111; LIEBESCHUETZ (1985), pp. 1–31. The edition of Palladius' work: PALLADIOS, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par A.-M. MALINGREY, PH. LECLERCQ, SChr 341–342, Paris 1988.

¹¹ For a more detailed introduction to the sources, see below.

are also employed; however, in order to avoid confusion, no Greek counterparts have been used.

In Late Antiquity, honorific epithets were most often used by authors as designations strictly connected to the rank of a given person, not as an appraisal of that person. However, since the author of the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* does not use such epithets on a regular basis, but selects them depending on the figure described, I shall undertake an analysis of their usage and attempt to determine, on that basis, what the hagiographer's attitudes towards the individual protagonists may have been.

The Holy Man in Late Antiquity

1. Peter Brown's Thesis and Its Development

In Antiquity, the question of holiness was present both in pagan religions¹² and in Christianity. The Christians would also ask the same question in Late Antiquity, especially following the end of the era of the martyrs, when the question being asked was whether it was possible to be holy in the world.¹³

Christianity attributed the fullness of holiness to God alone; all the holiness comes from God, Christ, who sanctifies man.¹⁴ Therefore, a man who wishes to attain holiness must follow Christ, becoming an *imago Christi*.¹⁵ But who can be recognized as an imitator of Christ, a holy man, especially in a time when one cannot become a martyr, a witness of the faith? According to Hippolyte Delehaye, who examines the issue from a historical perspective, and in view of the absence of the formal canonization process in the Late Antique Christianity,¹⁶ a man who is worshipped can be recognized as holy.¹⁷ One of the manifestations of such worship is his or her *vita*, though this may not always be the case.¹⁸

The specific form of holiness in Late Antiquity is the phenomenon of the holy man, ἅγιος ἀνὴρ, a sociological interpretation of which was suggested by Peter Brown in his famous (now considered classic) article,¹⁹ which marked a turning point in how the figure of the holy man in Late Antiquity was perceived.

According to Brown, the holy man's success is largely due to the absorption of the institution of patronage.²⁰ He aims the focus of his research on the territory of

12 Cf. BOWERSOCK (1990), p. 15.

13 Cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 19.

14 Cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1949), pp. 98–99.

15 Cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1949), p. 71.

16 In its strict sense, canonization, as an official proclamation of a saint by the Pope or a Patriarch, did not exist in the West until the 10th century, and in the Byzantine Empire until as late as the 13th century, cf. TALBOT (1996), p. vii and TALBOT (1991a), p. 378. Before that period, the process of attaining the status of the holy would have been informal. It depended on the reputation of holiness and usually also on the power of performing miracles, cf. JEFFREYS (2000), p. 709 and KAZHDAN (1991k), p. 1828.

17 Cf. DELEHAYE (1927), pp. 122–123.

18 For instance, Jerome's *Vita Pauli Primi Eremitae* is a pure literary fiction. Nonetheless, this fiction serves as the basis for the present worship of St Paul the Hermit in the Catholic Church, cf. NEHRING (1996), pp. 107–119.

19 BROWN (1971), pp. 80–101. Brown had used the word “holy” (the adjective associated with God or religion, sacral, devoted to the divine service) instead of “saint” (the one referring to a person recognized by the Catholic Church or the Orthodox Church as worthy of veneration), exactly due to the absence of the formal canonization process in that period, cf. AV. CAMERON (1999), p. 27.

20 The question of the holy man's particular role as a Syrian patron in view of town – village relations specific to Syria was discussed by BROWN in his article: “Town, Village and Holy Man: The Case of Syria,” [in:] *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982, pp. 153–165.

Syria in particular, as it was the birthplace of many celebrated holy men, notably Simeon the Stylite. He also takes notice of the leadership crisis in the burgeoning rural communities of Syria in the 4th and 5th centuries. Those communities were in need of a good patron – προστάτης – someone who would be their intermediary in relations with the outside world, especially the city, as well as their arbitrator in cases of conflicts arising within the rural community. Until then, the role had been fulfilled by the urban aristocracy or the military. However, at times none of these factors was available, or – even if they were – they did not necessarily perform their function adequately, especially as certain areas were then undergoing a decomposition of their traditional urban upper classes, followed by an advent of new elements which replaced the traditional elites. Consequently, there existed a strong demand for such figures; one can even speak of a peculiar “hunt for patrons.”²¹ The holy man would come to fill that gap.

In Brown's opinion, the holy man could perform both of those functions, the liaison with the outside world and the arbitrator, better than any patrons before him. He was enough of a stranger, a person from the outside, to be able to take up the roles of an impartial judge in case of conflicts or of an advisor who could help in solving problems within the community. He did not owe anything to the community in which he was active, so he was not bound by any complicated bonds and relations within it. The need for this carrier of impartiality in the Late Antique society is given a particular emphasis in Brown's article,²² and the holy man was precisely such a figure. He had triumphed in a rivalry with the ancient oracles thanks to his ability to define himself and preserve his identity, as opposed to the ancient medium that lost it by falling into trance. Also of significance was the fact that contact with the holy man was often free from the coarseness of the regular patron-client relationship, and that the holy man, unlike the traditional patron figure who was frequently unavailable to ordinary clients, was easily accessible.

The holy man also possessed sufficient authority to intervene with success on behalf of farmers, appealing to tax-collectors. As can be seen in Theodoret of Cyrrhus' account on Abraham, it was exactly the holy man's intercession with the tax-collectors and his ability to obtain loans for a village at Emesa that would have turned him into a patron of the rural community.²³

The holy man's power, which would become decisive for the position he held in the rural community, manifested itself not only in his dealing with the authorities

²¹ Cf. BROWN (1971), p. 86 and BROWN (1982), p. 158. In both, the author refers to a passage from LIBANIUS, *Oratio XLVII*, 17.

²² Cf. BROWN (1971), p. 92.

²³ THEODORET, *HR XVII*, 3. Simeon the Stylite's Syriac *vita* notes that as a result of the holy man's activity many people would tear up their debtor's receipts. He would also demand reduction of interest rates on loans, cf. WIPSZYCKA (1979), p. 98.

and relations with the city, but also in his miraculous healing powers,²⁴ averting natural disasters and calamities,²⁵ visions,²⁶ exercising control over forces of nature,²⁷ casting curses,²⁸ and exorcism.²⁹ All these properties provided the holy man with an advantage over the other claimants to the role of patron. His advantage was all the greater as his power was not limited to the earthly domain, but also reached Heaven and God Himself, to Whom the faithful turned through the holy man's intercession. Therefore, he was at the same time the authority resolving difficult religious and moral dilemmas faced by the members of the community, the main player deciding which particular option in Christological disputes should be adopted by the community, and also the person facilitating reconciliation with Christ and exemption from the punishment awaiting all sinners. This last was of particular significance in view of feelings of God's remoteness and impassivity, widespread in that period of Christianity.

According to Brown, this popularity of the holy man in society may have been consolidated by two phenomena: the crisis of fatherhood in Late Antiquity and the silence of the oracles. The former issue concerns the process of the narrowing of the role of father, with the father in the traditional family gradually becoming the teacher and being treated as a tutor by his children. One can however observe many occasions where the holy man performs the father's role towards the youth.³⁰ As for the silence of the oracles (the traditional centre of impartiality), it became necessary to search for a new, more reliable, and, even more importantly, per-

24 The holy man could heal all kinds of disease, and even raise the dead, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXI, 14, where Jacob from near Cyrrhus brings a little child back to life. Everybody could be healed if it was the holy man's will, both the governor of the East (THEODORET, *HR* II, 20) and common citizens (THEODORET, *HR* XXI, 14), even though one should notice that the authors of the works dealing with activity of holy men most often mention the cases where people of noble birth or high-ranking officials were healed.

25 Cf., e.g., THEODORET, *HR* VI, 5, where Simeon Stylites the Elder's prayer puts out the fire sent down from heavens to punish a dishonest farmer. This is also a brilliant example of the holy man's role as a protector of harmony in the community.

26 Cf. THEODORET, *HR* II, 14, where Julian Sabas predicts the Emperor Julian's death.

27 Which might refer to both a plague of insects sent by Jacob of Nisibis to punish the Persians during Shapur's siege of the city (THEODORET, *HR* I, 11–12) and the lions which stood in attendance to holy men (THEODORET, *HR* VI, 2; VI, 10).

28 The curse was a very perilous weapon; not only did it bring a change for the worse, but it could end up in the affected person's death (cf. THEODORET, *HR* II, 21; VIII, 9). The curse is an expression of the holy man's position as an arbitrator and mediator, cf. BROWN (1971), p. 88.

29 Cf. THEODORET, *HR* III, 9; III, 22; IX, 4; IX, 9–10. To Brown, the power to exorcise is an expression of the holy man's standing in society, where aggression and conflicts had a decisively demonic foundation. The holy man is the one who can, as a mediator, foster the sense of community in villages, cf. BROWN (1971), pp. 89–90.

30 Let us mention here, for example, an account by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, where he recounts how the holy man Macedonius used to give him fatherly advice in his youth – THEODORET, *HR* XIII, 18. Another notable fact is that the holy man's father is rarely found in the *vitae*, whereas his mother is portrayed relatively frequently, cf. BROWNING (1981), p. 121.

sonal source of such objectivity. The holy man took advantage of the erosion of the classical social institutions and installed himself in their place.

Such a vision of the holy man primarily as a patron who filled the empty place in the rural society of the East at a time of decomposition of certain traditional social institutions necessarily restricts his position to this particular environment. He would have been, therefore, predominantly, the holy man of the province, not of the city.³¹ Not exclusively the Syrian province, however, but also of other regions of the Empire, such as Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Unfortunately, the conclusions drawn in the article are limited to problems seen through the eyes of the historian of social issues, and thus mostly of a sociological nature. It can be seen that the article is lacking in research on the religious or cultural aspects of the phenomenon, which should also be considered if we wish to obtain a full picture. As a result, Brown's theory met with some criticism. In the publication comprising materials from the Birmingham symposium (1980), concerned with the theme of the Byzantine saint, nearly all of the articles devoted to Late Antiquity take up a certain position towards Brown's article, most frequently a critical one.³² It was indicated that the holy man had been active not only in the rural environment, connected with the institution of patronage, but also in the urban one;³³ another charge referred to the neglected question of the holy men's cultural background.³⁴ There was even some scepticism expressed as to any possibility of a non-religious explanation of the emergence of the holy man.³⁵ Some later works stressed that pagan holy men would also have existed.³⁶ Finally, the whole of

31 Robert Browning concurs with this view, cf. BROWNING (1981), p. 118.

32 Cf. *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. HACKEL, London 1981.

33 Cf. RYDÉN (1981), pp. 106–113: the author depicts a new type of holiness – the holy fool – primarily associated with the urban environment. The example of the holy fool is not the only one calling into question the assumption that the holy man's presence is limited mostly to the rural community, in provincial areas. A number of the *vitae* are concerned with the holy men's activity in the city. Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa* begins with the *Life of Jacob*, whose activity is connected with Nisibis. Jacob served as bishop of that city and organized defence against the Persian siege. After his death his remains became a factor fostering unity among the population of the city (THEODORET, *HR* I). In other *vitae* as well, there are holy men active at Antioch, Cyrrhus (for instance, Julian, who had performed many miraculous deeds in those cities during his wanderings, cf. THEODORET, *HR* II, 18–22), and Carrai in Mesopotamia, where the above-mentioned Abraham became bishop (THEODORET, *HR* XVII, 5). Without relinquishing their ascetic practices, holy men also were able to fulfil their role within the city walls.

34 Cf. DRIJVERS (1981), pp. 25–33.

35 Cf. CHADWICK (1981), pp. 11–24.

36 See, above all, FOWDEN (1982), pp. 33–59. The Greek word denoting “holy” in pagan texts, mostly of epigraphic character, in the Near East, is usually ἅγιος. This term is also a standard designation of a “saint.” Another Greek word referring to the holy one, ὁσιος, is comparatively less frequent and appears in Jewish or Christian contexts. The holiness of persons in pagan piety was also expressed by another Greek epithet. Whereas Judaism and Christianity rarely make any differentiation in terms between the holiness of God and that of the holy man, paganism had actually made such a distinction.

Brown's theory was called into question through the argument that there was no one model by which the holy man would have functioned, but rather a variety of them, while the number of the saints that would fit Brown's ideal is relatively low.³⁷

Brown would modify his approach to the phenomenon several times. In 1983, he stressed the figure of the holy man as imitator of Christ.³⁸ In his view, the holy man became a model functioning as part of Late Antique *paideia*. He was right in his observation that in the educational process of the period the most important role was played by the relationship between master and disciple. The quest for such a master or role model to be imitated would often have led to the holy man, who would become a Christ-bearing exemplar of Christian life, at times even identified with Christianity itself. Hence, the holy man (and after his death also his legend) as well as the church dedicated to him became and remained central elements in a system of values. In his subsequent works, Brown noted and appreciated the role of holy women, whose significance as arbitrators of holiness would have often been as pronounced as that of men.³⁹ Besides this, he would attempt to surpass his view of the perfect isolation of the holy man in society.⁴⁰ Brown would stress that he was much less certain as to where to situate the figure of the holy man in any broader picture of the world than was the case in 1971.⁴¹ His conception of the territory of the holy became less an area of social difference between the urban and the rural and more an imagined spiritual landscape.⁴²

The pagan holy man in Late Antiquity was not ordinarily described as ἅγιος or ὁσιος. His proximity to divinity was expressed by the adjective "divine" (θεῖος) or "sacred" (ιερός), cf. BOWERSOCK (1990), pp. 16–17. The Late Antique pagan concept of personal holiness was founded upon Platonic metaphysics and the ascetic piety of Pythagorean tradition, cf. FOWDEN (1982), p. 38. On the divine men, see DZIELSKA (1998), pp. 41–54.

³⁷ Cf. WHITBY (1987), pp. 309–317. Whitby notes that even in Brown's principal source, i.e., the *Historia Religiosa* by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, only five figures, out of seventy featured in the work, correspond with his conception. Of these five persons, two are members of the church hierarchy, which in fact bears on their social involvement. In Brown's conception, the best archetype of the holy man is Simeon the Stylite, yet this particular figure is more exceptional than typical for Theodoret's work. For Theodoret as well, holiness manifested itself in many forms, and therefore there was no one single formula for the holy man. The reputation of each holy man was an individual one and depended on a number of factors. Whitby stresses that the essential feature of asceticism was not in fact social interaction, whereas in Late Antiquity the holy men's social activity could not be separated from that of the monasteries, in which they usually lived and worked. However, common points in the diverse phenomenon of the holy man should be sought within Christianity itself, which urged believers to imitate Christ's perfection and suffering.

³⁸ Cf. BROWN (1989), pp. 1–25.

³⁹ Cf. BROWN (1988), p. 332 and BROWN (1996), p. 125, BROWN (2000), p. 795 (the article in *The Cambridge Ancient History* is in large part based on Brown's article of 1996).

⁴⁰ Cf. BROWN (1995), pp. 57–78 and BROWN (1998), p. 368.

⁴¹ Cf. BROWN (1996), p. 124.

⁴² Cf. BROWN (1995), p. 72.

Despite its evolution, Brown's present view, depicted in its most complete form in vol. XIV of *The Cambridge Ancient History*,⁴³ continues to face criticism. A recurring criticism is the lack of an adequate approach for the main type of sources he had drawn on in his analysis of the phenomenon of the holy man, i.e., hagiographical sources.⁴⁴

2. Hagiography – Primary Sources for the Research on the Holy Man

Hagiography (Greek: ἅγιος, γράφειν) can be defined most broadly as sources devoted to saints, their history and worship, as well as the critical examination of these sources. The object of hagiographical research is always the figure of a saint, a person venerated by Christians as a heroic example of Christian life. In particular, hagiographical research is often concerned with hagiography as a literary genre. Hagiographical literature was the most popular literary genre in the Byzantine Empire, and its volume was greater than that of all other genres. The term *hagiography* itself is an 18th-century coinage known and used in the Western world. In modern Greek, the word has an entirely different meaning, referring to icon-painting. Only in the 20th century did the term acquire its current sense.⁴⁵

⁴³ BROWN (2000), pp. 781–810.

⁴⁴ Cf. AV. CAMERON (1999), pp. 37–39; ROUSSEAU (1999), p. 47. Claudia Rapp, in turn, criticizes Brown's overwhelming reliance on the hagiographical sources. For her part, she suggests that research should only make use of the sources written during a holy man's lifetime, primarily his correspondence. On the basis of the sources selected according to her criteria, she has proposed a new vision of the holy man's function in Late Antiquity (he was to be, above all, an "intercessor" with God), stressing his prayer-related role in society. According to Claudia Rapp, her own model does not replace Brown's propositions, but converges with them, cf. RAPP (1999), pp. 53–81. Brown's theory is not, of course, the only one that attempts to explain the phenomenon of the emergence of the holy man in Late Antiquity. Some scholars have attempted to connect it with the adoption of the Hellenic ideal *Θεῖος ἄνθρωπος* and the Manichaean *electi*, due to the fact that many of their characteristics closely resemble those which are attributed to the Christian holy man. The Manichaean influence was linked in particular to the so-called Syrian proto-monasticism, especially its insistence on celibacy, cf. VÖÖBUS (1960), p. 158; DRIJVERS (1981), p. 30–31. However, it seems more plausible to seek the origin of the holy man within Christianity, above all in the Scriptures. In the Gospel, the model is primarily Jesus Christ, the unmatched Master for all Christians. It is no wonder then that efforts were made to represent the holy man as the one who imitated that model, thus becoming an *imago Christi*, image of Christ. Many elements in the known *vitae* seem to confirm that this model guided the authors. Cf. DRIJVERS (1981), pp. 27–28; BROWNING (1981), p. 117. Cf. also KOŚCIŃSKI (1999), pp. 387–390.

⁴⁵ Cf. AIGRAIN (1953), p. 7; KAZHDAN, TALBOT, (1991), p. 897; JEFFREYS (2000), p. 709; DUMMER (1990), pp. 284–285; VAN OMMESLAEGHE (1981), p. 158; TALBOT (1996), p. vii; HINTERBERGER (2000), pp. 139–140; WIPSZYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), pp. 222–223. More recently, in order to distinguish the hagiographical sources from the related works of critical analysis, these latter being designated as "hagiology," cf. VAN UYTFANGHE (1988), col. 151.

For a long time, the hagiographical literature would continue to receive very critical treatment in academic circles. The approach to hagiographical sources, especially the *vitae*, was dominated by the post-Enlightenment vision of the empirical biography, accusing hagiography of standardization and stressing its topical character.⁴⁶ In the 19th century, positivist scholars excluded hagiography from the domain of historiography, accusing it of a lack of historical perspective.⁴⁷ Some critics even considered hagiographical works to be forgery produced by deceitful monks.⁴⁸ However, as Halkin notes, one should not judge authors of other periods using criteria which were alien to them, as this would be an error of psychological anachronism.⁴⁹ The categories of positivist outlook were too limited to comprehend and accept the specific character of the hagiographical text.⁵⁰

It was only the Bollandists who worked out a set of critical methods that could be applied to hagiographical texts, embracing their specific character, even though Hippolyte Delehaye, the pioneer of the modern academic hagiography, would still think in the positivist vein, charging the hagiographical authors with lack of honesty.⁵¹ Delehaye held that the most serious methodological error in interpreting hagiographical works was the failure to take into account the spirit which would have inspired them. He also assumed that hagiography was part of the historical sciences, but one should always pay attention to the particular nature of the documents it was concerned with.⁵² This scholar was also the first one to divide hagiographical works into documents of a liturgical character and narrative. This division, although elaborated and refashioned later on, would become the basis for subsequent hagiographical research.⁵³

The Bollandists were concerned with concrete saints, as their aim was to clear religious worship of mythical figures. However, after the Second World War, hagiographical research experienced a shift from the figure of one individual saint to

⁴⁶ Cf. HEFFERNAN (1988), p. 41, ELLIOTT (1987), p. 2.

⁴⁷ Cf. HINTERBERGER (2000), p. 140, n. 1.

⁴⁸ Usener's critical articles may serve here as an example, cf. USENER (1914), pp. 74–104; cf. also HEFFERNAN (1988), p. 55.

⁴⁹ Cf. HALKIN (1971), pp. 261–262.

⁵⁰ Cf. HEFFERNAN (1988), p. 56.

⁵¹ Although Delehaye rejected both the traditionalistic approach to hagiography and Usener's hypercritical attitude, cf. DELEHAYE (1930), pp. 218–231.

⁵² Cf. DELEHAYE (1934), pp. 7–8.

⁵³ It should be noted here that Delehaye was concerned primarily with the hagiographical sources devoted to the cult of martyrs, where he would distinguish six types of source, from official documents to fictitious works and forgeries, cf. DELEHAYE (1907), pp. 111–116; see also DELEHAYE (1909). Delehaye transferred his classification of *passiones* on to *vitae*, recognizing that the *vitae* composed a long time after the death of their protagonists should be analyzed as legendary *passio*, whereas the *vitae* written directly after the saint's death as normal historical sources, cf. DELEHAYE (1934), pp. 1–12, 32. For a brief discussion of the Bollandists' methodology, see VAN OMMESLAEGHE (1981), pp. 155–163; a more detailed, two-volume work on Delehaye and the Bollandist method is JOASSART (2000).

the study of many saints as well as society, convinced that, more than any other type of source, the large volume of hagiographical material makes such research possible. The hagiographical texts came to be used not only for the purpose of obtaining more information on the history of monasticism and theological controversies, but also to interpret or supplement the knowledge of political, economical, topographical, and cultural developments... In certain fields, hagiography remained a unique reservoir of sources, especially as regards studies of the lower classes of society, often neglected in other Late Antique sources.⁵⁴ Hagiography is also the best source for exploring mentalities over the course of centuries, as well as for researching the religious and social ideas it disseminated.⁵⁵ The research base has also been much extended, incorporating in the hagiographical material the information on discoveries of relics, translations of saints' remains, hymns in honour of saints, etc.⁵⁶

Following Delehaye's classification, two main types of hagiographical sources can now be identified: liturgical, attesting to the cult of a specific saint, and literary, concerning the life of a saint, his miracles both in his lifetime and after his death. Liturgical sources comprise, first of all: *synaxaria*, *menaia*, *typika*, and martyrologies, whereas literary sources are mostly *acta*, *passiones*, *vitae*, *miracula*, and *narrationes animae utiles*.⁵⁷

In spite of the diversity of hagiographical sources, most of the attention is focused on the *vitae*. Each *vita* has two fundamental objectives which the author is always aware of: to venerate the saint, and, through him, God, the place where he lived, the monastery where he resided, and so on; and to edify the faithful, for whom the saint becomes an example to be followed. These two goals tend to be pres-

54 Cf. HALKIN (1971), pp. 260–269, PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 101; TALBOT (1996), pp. vii–viii; GARZYA (1998), p. 509. However, it should be noted that the pioneering publication, nearly half a century ahead of the similar trends in the West, is the work by the Russian scholar Aleksandr Rudakov, cf. RUDAKOV (1917).

55 Cf. GEARY (1996), p. 15: hagiography is of particular significance for historians of values, as it offers the ideal representation of social relations; HEFFERNAN (1988), p. 17; WIPSYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), pp. 239–240.

56 Cf. GAJANO (1976), pp. 261–300 and GEARY (1996), pp. 1–22. Geary considers GRAUS (1965) to be a breakthrough work for hagiographical research, where the latter author formulated the following principles pertaining to hagiographical sources: hagiography is important for studying society; in our analysis of social functions of hagiography, the primary character of these texts cannot be ignored; historians must not overlook the exploration of the formal literary tradition of hagiographical texts; scholars must not ignore the propagandistic character of this literature; hagiography has its political dimension as well.

57 Cf. AIGRAIN (1953): in the literary sources, René Aigrain also incorporates inscriptions, diplomatic sources, correspondence, descriptions of the discovery of relics, and their translation, etc.; DUMMER (1990), pp. 285–285; JEFFREYS (2000), p. 709; VAN UYTFANGHE (1988), cols. 152–154; HALKIN (1971), pp. 260–261. There are also other methods of classification of hagiographical sources, cf. KAZHDAN, TALBOT (1991), p. 897: into *Martyrion*, *Vita*, *Apophthegmata Patrum*; PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 102: general classification into collections of exemplary stories and the *vitae* proper; NORTON (1925), p. 256: into *passiones*, *vitae*, and *laudationes*.

ent in *vitae* in various proportions: sometimes the author is concerned less with the saint's role as a model to be followed and more with honouring him and the institutions he had been associated with. This particular tendency is evident especially in the later *vitae*. Apart from these two basic goals, there are also others, such as diversion or showing the superiority of a local monastic tradition, but they are usually of secondary importance.⁵⁸

It is certain that the authors of *vitae* were conscious of the aim of their works.⁵⁹ The same also applies to the later copyists and editors of hagiographical works, who would also have specific goals. Therefore, in order to understand a specific work, it is necessary to take into consideration the entire related hagiographical tradition.⁶⁰ The principles of the genre had been known to listeners from the beginning, as the hagiographers would not opt for unexpected solutions in the narrative endings.⁶¹

The basis for composing the early *vitae* embraced ancient biographies and *encomia*⁶² as well as Scripture. The authors treated the Old and New Testaments as the fundamental source from which they drew examples of moral conduct, paragons of asceticism, and miracles. The primary role model to be followed was, of course, Jesus Christ, but also John the Baptist and figures from the Old Testament. Similarities between them and the hagiographical protagonist testified to the genuine sanc-

58 Cf. ELLIOTT (1987), p. 2; JEFFREYS (2000), p. 709; CONSTANTELOS (1993), p. 93; HALKIN (1971), p. 261; TALBOT (1996), p. vii; BROCK, HARVEY (1987), p. 14; GEARY (1996), p. 15; KAZHDAN, TALBOT (1991), p. 897; WIPSYCYKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), pp. 228–230. Cameron emphasises the significance of the function of the *vita* as a representation of the life imitating Christ, hence she compares *vitae* with icons, cf. AV. CAMERON (1991), pp. 143–145. The significance of the educational role of the *vitae* is emphasized by Heffernan, for whom they were meant to serve, above all, as educational tools, cf. HEFFERNAN (1988), pp. 4–5, 19. According to Patlagean, the aim of hagiographical works was also the instilling of reverence for the monastic order, cf. PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 103.

59 Cf. AV. CAMERON (1999), p. 38.

60 Cf. GEARY (1996), pp. 14–16; PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 102.

61 Cf. ELLIOTT (1987), p. 8.

62 Cf. CONSTANTELOS (1993), p. 111. There is no doubt that the structure of many hagiographical works, especially the earliest ones, points to ancient biography, in particular the *Lives* of Pythagoras and Plotinus by Porphyry, as well as the biographies of Suetonius or Plutarch, cf. WIPSYCYKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), p. 227; HOLL (1912), pp. 406–427; GIANNARELLI (1998), pp. 49–50; HÄGG, ROUSSEAU (2000) p. 4. Structural similarities to progymnastic forms and panegyric, and especially to the *encomium*, can be found as well, cf. KENNEDY (1983), p. 210; ELLIOTT (1987), p. 3. According to Averil Cameron, this combination of biography and *encomium* (renewed in the Roman urban civilization) was a new way of integrating the public and private spheres, cf. AV. CAMERON (1991), p. 141. At the same time, the Christian *vitae* would break away from the principles of classical biography, for instance, through the creation of *vitae* of holy women, cf. NORTON (1925), p. 257. It should be noted that *vitae* were based not only on the ancient classical models but also drew on a number of other literary forms such as apocryphal texts, cf. RYDÉN (1986), pp. 537–554. In turn, the possibility of the influence of Christian hagiography on pagan biographical works is attested by, e.g., the assumption that the *vitae* by Eunapius were, in the author's intention, a pagan counterweight to a great number of Christian biographies of holy men, cf. COX MILLER (2000), p. 222. More on the position of hagiography within the biographical literary forms of Antiquity, cf. SWAIN (1997), pp. 1–37.

tity of the latter, descending from the Holy Spirit.⁶³ Hence, some of the hagiographical works are close in their form to the cento, especially those based on the Biblical texts.⁶⁴ The same principle applies to the early *vitae* or those of particularly venerated saints, which would become, for the later hagiography, the model for the composition and structuring of the figure of the protagonist who would gain credibility through his resemblance to the celebrated saints of the Bible.⁶⁵

Despite common aims and sources, and contrary to appearance, hagiographers were not in any way a homogenous group, while the literary level of their compositions is very diverse and changes with time and according to necessity. Besides, hagiographical works, especially the anonymous ones, were subject to gradual adaptations by copyists and editors to such an extent that some of them would become, as a matter of fact, the authors of new works. This concerns primarily Greek hagiography, which had been subjected to many compilations and adaptations during the 10th century, with the advent of the so-called Byzantine humanism, but is not limited to it. The best known example of those works is the *menologion* composed by Simeon Logothetos-Metaphrastes, encompassing 148 *vitae*. The popularity of the works by Metaphrastes and other compilers frequently resulted in the older versions of the *vitae* falling into oblivion, which makes it difficult, and in many cases even impossible, to recreate the original versions.⁶⁶

When talking about the authorship of hagiographical works, one should also stress the significance of monastic communities, if such works were created within them, which, overwhelmingly, was the case. Most frequently, the monasteries would have well-defined expectations from the hagiographers, who had never stood apart from the community and its tradition, and for that reason the narrative voice would become collective. Those *vitae* would be structured specifically to illustrate the exemplary conduct of the holy man in relation to the community.⁶⁷

The last issue I would like to point out in the context of hagiography is the question of its historicity and the possibility of its use in historical research. The issue of the historical credibility of *vitae* is a very problematic one, as there are no pertinent

⁶³ Cf. WIPSZYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), pp. 234–237; VAN UYTFANGHE (1989), pp. 168, 185 (the saint is to become an *imago Christi*); DE GAIFFIER (1977), p. 161; AV. CAMERON (1991), pp. 89–90 (the hagiographer should follow, above all, the example of the Gospel); GIANNARELLI (1998), pp. 51 and 57.

⁶⁴ Cf. DE GAIFFIER (1977), p. 155.

⁶⁵ Cf. HEFFERNAN (1988), p. 6; DE GAIFFIER (1977), p. 161.

⁶⁶ Cf. WIPSZYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), p. 244; CONGOURDEAU (1990), cols. 1383–1387; ZILLIACUS (1938), pp. 340–341; GARZYA (1998), p. 510. It should be noted that even though Simeon Metaphrastes' work gained the most popularity, compilations had already been made previously through the rewriting of the earlier *vitae* according to changing tastes, cf. RAPP (1995), pp. 31–44.

⁶⁷ Cf. HEFFERNAN (1988), pp. 19–20. Patlagean emphasizes that *vitae* and *miracula* in particular were usually associated with a specific region within the sphere of the influence of a given monastery, whereas collections of edification stories have no local roots and are most often linked with a region particularly associated with ascetic practices, cf. PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 103.

rules on the genre *en bloc*, and it is necessary to resolve the question of the credibility of each work individually⁶⁸ (hence, the extremely divergent opinions as to the historicity of the information contained in hagiographical works).⁶⁹ Let us recall that the objective of the hagiographer was not to create a *vita* of a saint but a work on how to attain sanctity. Thus, the choice of particular events from the life of a specific saint would not tally with our understanding of biography, as the authors would tend to make use of some idea of historical time, though they do not use it in a linear way, often arranging facts according to the internal structure of the text, at times independently of the actual chronology.⁷⁰ In consequence, hagiography espouses ethical, rather than historical, truth.⁷¹

It is believed that the more time elapsed between the death of a saint and the creation of his *vita*, the less credible it is, whereas the *vitae* written soon after the protagonist's death contain much valuable information about the protagonist and the realities of the contemporary world, although this is not always the rule.⁷² The data referring to social issues, reflecting the reality of daily life, often represented in passing, are usually (though this too is not a rule) more credible than the biographical data concerning the saint or information related to political realities.⁷³ It is certainly true, as Susan Harvey notes, that *vitae* not only contain historical information but are themselves a part of history.⁷⁴ Consequently, it is important to stress the necessity of in-depth historical and literary research of hagiographical works, which may assist scholars in interpreting the data found therein.

⁶⁸ Cf. WIPSYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), p. 232; KAZHDAN, TALBOT (1991), p. 897.

⁶⁹ For instance, Elliott states that hagiography is not history (ELLIOTT (1987), p. 7), while Susan Harvey holds an entirely different view (BROCK, HARVEY (1987), p. 3).

⁷⁰ Cf. PATLAGEAN (1983), pp. 111–112; BIBIKOV (1996), pp. 50–55.

⁷¹ Cf. ELLIOTT (1987), p. 6. Cameron makes the point that *vitae* are a type of biography which is always, intentionally, a true story, cf. AV. CAMERON (1991), p. 92.

⁷² Cf. WIPSYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), pp. 232–233; HEFFERNAN (1988), pp. 32–33: the author argues that one cannot underestimate the importance of oral accounts in the early *vitae*. It seems that in Late Antiquity, as also in historiography, oral testimony provided by living witnesses was of a much greater significance than written sources. For the similarities between hagiographer and historiographer, see HINTERBERGER (2000), p. 151.

⁷³ Cf. KAZHDAN, TALBOT (1991), p. 897. As noted above, certain historical and social phenomena can be traced only through hagiographical sources. Thus Magoulias explored the history of the early Byzantine medicine and economy using saints' lives as his sole source base, cf. MAGOULIAS (1964), pp. 127–150; MAGOULIAS (1976), pp. 11–35.

⁷⁴ Cf. BROCK, HARVEY (1987), p. 3.

3. Constantinople: an Outline of the Specific Characteristics of Early Constantinopolitan Monasticism

Before I proceed to discuss the ideal of the relation between the Constantinopolitan holy man and authority, I would like to make a note of the fact that the phenomenon of the holy man is strictly connected with that of Christian asceticism, in particular monasticism. This can be seen particularly clearly at the capital, where monasticism arrived relatively late.⁷⁵ The growth of the Constantinopolitan monasteries is commonly associated with the first Nicene foundations, although it must be noted that some non-Nicene monastic establishments had been in existence at a much earlier time. Even in the mid-4th century, during the reign of Constantius II, there had existed monastic foundations of Macedonius, the Arian bishop of the city, in the custody of deacon Maratonios, later Bishop of Nicomedia. The establishment of those monasteries was inspired by the monasticism of Eusthatius of Sebaste⁷⁶ and they went on to become important centres for the population of the city. It was from Eustathian monasticism that the Macedonian monks adopted the idea of dedicating themselves to charitable activity, including the custody of hospices. Most probably, the same tradition served as an inspiration for the founding of monastic communities of women and men. This monasticism survived until at least the mid-5th century, even though by that time there would have remained only increasingly smaller groups on the fringes of Constantinople's monastic life.⁷⁷

The first orthodox monastery of Constantinople was the monastery of Isaac, a Syrian hermit who had come to the capital during the Emperor Valens' reign in order to persuade the ruler to revoke the anti-Nicene decrees. After orthodoxy had been restored by Theodosius I, and despite his wish to return to Syria, he remained in the capital, where his protector Saturninos had a cell built for him on his property outside the walls of the city in ca. 381. The further growth of the city made the extra-mural hermitage become Constantinople's first monastery.⁷⁸ Isaac himself tried to spend as little time as possible within the walls of the city.⁷⁹ A very interesting question is the identification of Isaac with the main accuser of John Chrysostom at the Synod of the Oak in 403.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ In my analysis of the origins of Constantinopolitan monasticism, I have drawn on the article: DAGRON (1970), pp. 229–276, which is definitely the best work on the subject.

⁷⁶ Dagron assumes that Eusthatius had resided for a longer period of time in the capital, between 340 and 356, at exactly the time when Macedonius served as Bishop of Constantinople, cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 250.

⁷⁷ Cf. SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 3 and IV, 20; SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 38; DAGRON (1970), pp. 244–252.

⁷⁸ On the question of the location of Constantinople's monasteries, see JANIN (1953).

⁷⁹ On Isaac's anti-Arian activity, see SNEE (1985), pp. 395–419. On Isaac's relations with Constantinople's elite, see AL. CAMERON, LONG (1993), pp. 72–75.

⁸⁰ Cf. PARGOIRE (1898–1899b), pp. 138–145; DAGRON (1970), p. 245; LIEBESCHUETZ (1984), pp. 85–111; LIEBESCHUETZ (1985), pp. 1–31.

The proper development of Isaac's monastery is connected with the figure of Dalmatios, his disciple, formerly an officer of the Imperial guard, who was (ca. 382–383) the actual founder of the monastery on the grounds handed over to the monks by Saturninos. Dalmatios abandoned his family and military service, and donated his property to the monastery of Isaac; hence, the name of the first Constantinopolitan monastery – τὰ Δαλμάτου – is linked with his name. After Isaac's death, most likely in 405, Dalmatios became the head of the monastery; he had also been ordained a priest. Dalmatios would become famous as an ardent and effective opponent of Nestorius during the controversy of AD 431 in the capital. He died in ca. 440, and was succeeded by his son Faustos. By the reign of Theodosius I, there had already existed another monastery, named Dios, on which we do not have any further information.⁸¹

Another prominent monastery of Constantinople is connected with Alexander, the founder of the monastic movement of the *Akoimetoι*. Alexander arrived at Constantinople in the mid-420s and chose to settle with his twenty-four fellow monks in a monastery at the St Menas' Church. The similarity between the principles of the monastic life as propagated by Alexander and the Messalian doctrine led to his banishment from the capital. Upon his death in ca. 440, his disciples established the monastery known as the Irenaion not far from the city.⁸² One of his successors in running the monastery was Markellos, a Syrian from Apamea, who founded many charitable institutions, notably a hospice and a hospital. Just as Isaac and Dalmatios before, he would become involved in the conflict that had arisen between Bishop Flavian of Constantinople and Eutyches in the aftermath of the Christological controversy. Unlike his great predecessors, Markellos gave his support to the Bishop of Constantinople and would fervently continue to oppose the Monophysite views until the Council of Chalcedon (451), in liaison with Pope Leo the Great and Theodoret of Cyrrhus.⁸³

Constantinopolitan monasticism is marked by its considerable fluidity, complicating any accurate tracing of the history of monastic establishments. Nothing certain can be said about some of them on account of the scarcity of information. This problem is also illustrated by some synodal and council letters with archimandrites' signatures. The most intriguing list dates from 448, where there are signatures of twenty-three hegumens and delegates of Constantinople's monastic communities along with those of Flavian and other bishops under the document concerning the deposition of Eutyches.⁸⁴ Out of the thirteen communities that can be now identified, as many as five cannot be found in the subsequent lists comprising the relevant signatures. This attests to a considerable degree of fluctuation in monastic life, with a

⁸¹ Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 232–233.

⁸² Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 235–236. For the question of Messalian accusations against Alexander and the history of the *Akoimetoι*, see below.

⁸³ Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 236–237. On Markellos, see below.

⁸⁴ Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 271–272. On Eutyches and the synod that condemned him, see BACHT (1953), pp. 221–231.

number of foundations disappearing after a brief period of existence.⁸⁵ Therefore, the overall number of the monks throughout the period in question can only be estimated, at roughly 10,000 – 15,000.⁸⁶ There can be no doubt, however, that the 5th century saw a noticeable increase in the number of monasteries both within the city and in its immediate vicinity. Besides, the aforementioned lists reveal the considerable, often crucial, role of the monks in the religious controversies taking place in Constantinople. Even though monks were also present in other cities of the Empire, it was only in the capital that they formed their own social group which would go on to play a significant role in the life of the city through their influence on the lowest classes of Constantinople's population.

The original Arian monasticism had no eremitic, or specifically coenobitic, character. They were ascetic inhabitants of the city who were marked by their characteristic attire. In this way, they could be better integrated into urban life.⁸⁷ On the other hand, orthodox monks were mostly coenobites, although this does not mean that they would not leave their monasteries at all. On the contrary, the wandering, or even vagrancy, of monks is very peculiar to Constantinople until as late as the second half of the 5th century. Hermits or stylites are a rare phenomenon in the city, yet they were present there as well, e.g., Daniel the Stylite in the latter half of the 5th century.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, these were exceptions. Many of the monastic communities were small groups of monks living on the streets, near places of worship, as guardians of *martyria* or charitable communities in charge of hospices. The first monasteries were established outside the walls of Constantinople, not within the city. Those who had settled in the city, like the *Akoimetoï*, would be driven out. Another notable feature of the urban monasticism of Constantinople was the fact that the monks had come from various regions, especially from many of the Eastern lands.

⁸⁵ Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 240 – 244, Dagron notes the comparatively uncertain nature of such evidence due to possibilities of polemical forgery and the undefined character of the monastic communities mentioned therein.

⁸⁶ Cf. MITCHELL (1995), p. 114. However, the author does not specify how he has arrived at this particular figure. Most likely, he has drawn on Dagron's calculations, cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 253, n. 125.

⁸⁷ Cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 252.

⁸⁸ On Daniel the Stylite, see below.

Part I: **Life of Hypatios**

1. Characteristics of the Source

The *Life of Hypatios* (VH) has aroused scholarly interest for a long time, hence it has already been published several times.¹ For the purpose of this analysis, I will draw on the critical edition of 1971.²

1.1. The Author³

The work itself does not offer much information on the author. Such information is indirect and obtained through analysis of the grammatical forms and orthography used therein. More data can be gleaned from the anonymous Editor of the work, whose Dedication addressed to someone named Eutychos (a figure otherwise unknown) contains some information referring to the author of the VH. The aforementioned Editor states the author's name and notes that Kallinikos was a disciple of the holy man.⁴ Also described are the circumstances in which the manuscript had reached the Editor: he had found it in the possession of the third hegumen of the monastery (the first one was Hypatios himself), to whom Kallinikos, on his deathbed, had entrusted his work.⁵

It was only after the death of that third hegumen, whose name is not known, that the manuscript resurfaced thanks to the above-mentioned anonymous Editor. It cannot be said when exactly this might have happened, as we do not know the dates of Hypatios' successors. However, this must have taken place in the latter half of the 5th century.⁶

The Editor provides a few notes concerning Kallinikos' background. He states that he had corrected numerous idiosyncrasies characteristic of the Greek spoken by Syrians, meaning, in particular, phonetic and spelling peculiarities.⁷ This implies that the author was of Syrian origin. Besides, the anonymous Editor does not have a very high opinion of Kallinikos' education and the linguistic level of his work, which

1 In 1701, Paperboch published the *Life of Hypatios* in: *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. III, pp. 308–349; towards the end of the 19th century, a critical edition was issued in Leipzig: *Callinici de Vita Hypatii liber, ediderunt seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales*, Lipsiae 1895, pp. 3–110.

2 CALLINICOS, *Vie d'Hypatios*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par GÉRARD J. M. BARTELINK, SChr 177, Paris 1971.

3 Cf. Kosiński (2004), pp. 143–151.

4 VH, *Dedication* 2.

5 VH, *Dedication* 5. According to Festugière, the note on the discovery of the VH manuscript and the information regarding its Syriac origin are related to a particular topos, or place, whereas the Editor's *Dedication* is not very credible, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1960), p. 125.

6 Bartelink suggests dating the publication of the work to ca. 470; at the same time, he places a question mark over the date, BARTELINK (1968), p. 134.

7 VH, *Dedication*, 6.

would indicate that the writer had not been given a classical education.⁸ So much for the information from the Editor.

As regards the question of Kallinikos' origin, it would seem appropriate to assume that his Syriac idiosyncrasies would have resulted from the fact that he was of Syrian descent.⁹ However, he may just as well have been a Greek raised in a Syrian milieu. There is also another possibility: in consideration of Kallinikos' sympathetic view of Armenians,¹⁰ with the simultaneous absence of any favourable attitude towards Syrians, and Syria in general, he might hypothetically have come from the territory of Armenia.¹¹ One way or another, he had contact with some non-Greek language, from which he transferred certain features into Greek, the language in which he wrote.

Not much more than mere speculation can be said about Kallinikos' social background. According to the Editor, the author of the *Vita Hypatii* was a simple man, which nevertheless does not render the question of his background any more obvious. This is affirmed by the case of Antony, who could not speak Greek, even though he came from a wealthy Egyptian family.¹² Kallinikos' education represents a similar case. The fact that very little rhetorical influence can be discerned in his work would only attest to the fact that he had most likely not received any classical education. For this reason, his literary acumen is quite limited: he does not cite any secular author, his writing style is straightforward, without rhetorical figures.¹³ On the other hand, he has an extensive knowledge of the Scripture, which is often quoted in his work. Moreover, his work also contains many borrowings from the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius and the *Homily* by Pseudo-Makarios. At times, one may even get the impression that in its form the *VH* resembles a cento rather than an original work.¹⁴ This would point to Kallinikos' solid Christian education, most probably in a monastic community. He may even have been sent to a monastery in his youth, where he would have received, perforce, an education limited only to the knowledge of Christian writings. This would account for the lack of any secular education or of any familiarity with ancient classical culture. Let us note, however, that the fact of his being versed in reading and writing (which was not very common among the

⁸ *VH*, *Dedication*, 7.

⁹ Bartelink favours this view, cf. BARTELINK (1971), pp. 10–11.

¹⁰ At *VH* 3, 7, it is said that they are very pious: ...οἱ γὰρ Ἀρμένιοι σφόδρα πρόσκεινται τῷ Θεῷ.

¹¹ Even in his depiction of the *Akoimetoι*, Kallinikos only notes that they had come "from the East" (*VH* 41, 1), not from Syria. The name of this region appears only once in the work, at *VH* 36, 7, where there is an enumeration of the lands from which the letters, as well as eulogies, were sent to Hypatios (the East – next to Jerusalem, Egypt, Rome, Asia, and Thessalonica). Possibly, the Editor understands the term "Syrian" in Kallinikos' Greek as embracing some influence from the East, cf. CAPIZZI (1982), pp. 16–17.

¹² *VA* 1, 1–2. On the subject of Antony's knowledge of Greek, cf. WIPSYCKA (1997), pp. 173–179.

¹³ Cf. BARTELINK (1971), p. 11; cf. CAPIZZI (1982), pp. 17–18.

¹⁴ Cf. BARTELINK (1971), p. 11.

monks of that period) may indicate that he had not come from one of the lowest-ranking social classes.¹⁵

Another problem is Kallinikos' position in the *Rouphinianai* monastery.¹⁶ The Dedication only tells us that he was a monk and one of Hypatios' disciples. It is quite certain that he had lived at the monastery since at least ca. 426. This date is inferred from the account of Hypatios' serious illness, which the holy man had suffered at sixty years of age (he was born ca. 366), where Kallinikos used the first person plural.¹⁷ The grammatical form used suggests that he had been an eye-witness to the illness. It is known that Hypatios died in 446. For this reason, Kallinikos knew the first hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* monastery well, as he had been his companion for at least twenty years. Also, he must have played a fairly prominent role at the monastery after Hypatios' death. This may be affirmed by a sentence at *VH* 51, where the author ventures to exhort his fellow-monks.¹⁸ It is then reasonable to assume that he might have been among the superiors of the monastery.

This particular exhortation coupled with the fact that the second hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* monastery is fairly vaguely depicted in the *VH* led Bartelink to put forth his hypothesis that it was Kallinikos who had succeeded Hypatios as hegumen, and he omitted mentioning the fact in the *VH* owing to his humility.¹⁹ I think this is a far-fetched view. Kallinikos could not have been the second hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* monastery, as the Editor mentions him only as a disciple of Hypatios. The Editor, who was himself well-acquainted with the monastery, must have certainly known whether Kallinikos would indeed have held such an important post. Even if Kallinikos had chosen to omit mention of his rank out of modesty, the Editor would surely have had no reason to keep it concealed. The Editor had known the author's name, therefore it may have been preserved in the original (which is fairly doubtful as Kallinikos had consistently and effectively avoided any mention of himself) or, alternatively, transmitted by the monks. It may also have been preserved in some notes left by the late hegumen. In the latter two cases, the name of Kallinikos should have been accompanied with his function at the monastery. If, however, we follow Bartelink and assume the year 470 as the date of the publication of the *VH*, only twenty years would have passed since it was written, i.e., a relatively short period of time. For this reason, the memory of the second hegumen would still have been very much alive. It is, in truth, an argument *ex silentio*, but as there is no clear evi-

¹⁵ See WIPSYCKA (1983), pp. 1–26.

¹⁶ Owing to an erroneous identification of Hypatios with the eponymous bishop of Cyprus, Humbert asserted that Kallinikos had written the *Life* of the holy man in Cyprus in ca. 450, which is obviously an error, see HUMBERT (1930), p. 84.

¹⁷ *VH* 23, 1: Ἦν δὲ λοιπὸν ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἡρώστησε σφόδρα, ὥστε πάντας ἡμᾶς νομίσαι ὅτι μέλλει τελειοῦσθαι.

¹⁸ *VH* 51, 13: Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀσκεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ἀδελφοί.

¹⁹ Cf. BARTELINK (1971), p. 12. Hypatios' successor is mentioned at *VH* 51, 6 in vague terms, as “ἐνὶ τινι διαδόχῳ”.

dence in support of the hypothesis of Kallinikos' tenure as hegumen, it should be approached with due caution.²⁰

However, the author of the *VH* had been, most probably, one of the superiors of the monastery, as this is affirmed by the above-mentioned sentence from *VH* 51.

1.2. The Purpose of the Work and Dates

The initial impression upon reading the *VH* is that the work had been written to serve a monastic community. Although its original addressee was a certain priest (named “new Cornelius” – νέος Κορνήλιος, Prologue 1), the fellow monks are mentioned right after him as the ones who had persuaded the author to write an account of the life of Hypatios and to whom the *VH* is directed (Prologue 2). This reference pertains, most certainly, to the *Rouphinianai* community, whereas the anonymous Editor is the one who reveals the *VH* for the outside world.²¹ The aim of the work was to edify his brothers in faith (Prologue 6–7).²²

Aside from the facts mentioned here, the form and content of the *VH* must have been influenced, as the source makes it possible to infer, by the fact that the *Rouphinianai* community had been undergoing a serious crisis following Hypatios' death. This may have occurred in connection with the invasion of the Huns, forcing the Constantinopolitan monks to decide to leave the city and depart for Jerusalem,²³ which may have caused some discord. At the time of the completion of the work, the community had already been reunited. Nevertheless, the very emphasis accorded to this fact suggests that problems related to the preservation of the previous unity of the community may have appeared.²⁴

Besides, the fortunes of the work itself are intriguing. It is particularly surprising that the *VH* had been concealed and kept from being propagated further, prior to the Editor's discovery of the work, even amongst the *Rouphinianai* community to whom

²⁰ On this subject, see also WÖLFLE (1986), p. 19. Although in the acts of the synod of 448, which affirms the deposition of Eutyches, a signature of someone named Kallinikos can be found among the signatures of the superiors of the Constantinopolitan monasteries. This was in fact a monk, and the archimandrite, of the monastery τῶν Θεοδότου, who cannot be identified with the *Rouphinianai* monastery due to the fact that the said name appears consistently in the later lists of the 5th-century monasteries. It must be concluded, therefore, that this unidentified monastery is different from the *Rouphinianai* monastery, cf. ACO, II, I, p. 147.

²¹ Cf. *VH*, *Dedication*.

²² This is also attested by the sentence *VH* 51, 13, as cited above.

²³ *VH* 52, 4: Μέχρι δὲ καὶ μοναχοὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικροῦ δεῖν γὰρ ἦγγισαν καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν πορῆσαι. Although the *Rouphinianai* monastery had been situated on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, the threat of an imminent Hun invasion would appear to have induced this community to leave their abode. On the Hun threat to the environs of Constantinople in 447, see STEIN (1959), pp. 292–293 and CROKE (1981), pp. 159–170.

²⁴ Cf. *VH* 56, 1.

it was addressed. As a matter of fact, this “laying aside” of the *VH* may prove that it was not acceptable in the eyes of the *Rouphinianai* elite. Another reason may have been the fact that the *vita* had not been completed in Kallinikos’ lifetime and was delayed until someone had completed the editing (Dedication 4 and 6). In consequence, the final editor is an anonymous monk, though his interferences with the text appear to have been very limited.

It is now time to turn our attention to the first addressee of Kallinikos’ work. Apparently, this anonymous priest resided with the community as well. However, he cannot have been the second hegumen of the monastery, as further on the *VH* contradicts such a possibility. In the above-mentioned sentence at *VH* 51, 6, the author depicts Hypatios’ successor in somewhat disparaging terms, in contrast to the text of the Prologue, which is very much in favour of the addressee. The fact that the work is not addressed to the hegumen is rather curious. There may have existed a monastery faction in opposition to the hegumen, with the author among the opponents. On his deathbed, he handed over his work to the third hegumen, not the second one. For this reason, the third hegumen might have been an adversary of his predecessor, possibly the leader of the said faction. He is perhaps the person who should be considered to be the actual addressee of the work (not just the person to whom the moribund Kallinikos would have given the *VH*), i.e., the aforementioned *New Cornelius*.

However, a more thorough analysis of the work would rather make this hypothesis seem implausible. In Chapter 5, the author puts a strong emphasis on being obedient to the superior of the monastery. Even Hypatios himself is obliged to be obedient, as he is told by Jonas to discontinue his severe ascetic practices.²⁵ This emphasis on being obedient to the hegumen would suggest that Kallinikos was not considered an enemy by Hypatios’ successor.

Who is the addressee then? The phrase νέος Κορνήλιος indicates that he must have been a converted soldier or pagan.²⁶ There are two figures in the *VH* that would correspond with this assumption. The anonymous clergyman could have been Antiochos, who can be found further on in the work,²⁷ or a certain converted sinner, one of the three *scholastici* at *VH* 35, who had demanded that a *vita* of Hypatios be composed. Antiochos had been a follower of pagan beliefs until Hypatios healed him; the healing led him to conversion and he became an ardent disciple of the holy man. It is not known if he had ever been ordained a priest; all we know is that he was ἀγαπώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων, beloved by the nobility (*VH* 44, 20). Similarly, it is noted that one of the three *scholastici* was so zealous that Hypatios wished to keep him at the monastery. He, however, returned to his

²⁵ *VH* 5, 9–10, Hypatios practised rigorous asceticism. His fellow monks informed Jonas of the situation, and the latter prepared wine and bread for the holy man. Hypatios, in his fulfilment of the rule of obedience, drank the wine, even though he had never done so before.

²⁶ Cornelius was most often mentioned as an example of the God-fearing soldier, cf. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homily for Catechumens* 7, 28–33.

²⁷ *VH* 44, 20–23.

home in order to convert his wife. Since then, he had been living with her in chastity. However, we also learn that he had become a priest and, as I have noted before, insisted that a *vita* of Hypatios be written. This may have led to his subsequent association with the *Rouphinianai* monastery. This then is a more plausible figure than Antiochos. It is notable, however, that he would have continued living with his wife (thus, he could not have resided within the precincts of the monastery). Although the *VH* does mention the precedent of a woman living at the *Rouphinianai* monastery, the context of the chapter dealing with these *scholastici* makes it clear that the man had been dwelling outside the monastery.²⁸

In an attempt to address doubts over the conflict, let us refer to the text of the *VH*. Two chapters of this work deal with the conflict between Hypatios and his companion Timothy (*VH* 9–10). Such awkward details would normally have been left out from a hagiographical work, unless they were a testimony to the protagonist's great holiness. In this case, the way in which the controversy is portrayed is entirely untypical for this literary form. Timothy is not represented here in an overly negative light. The author only notes that he “had less humility and did not make as much spiritual progress.”²⁹ In the previous chapter he had already stated that Timothy was very pious and given to fervent virtue,³⁰ the actual force behind the conflict being Satan (*VH* 9, 1). The humble Hypatios yielded and retreated to Jonas' monastery (*VH* 9, 2–3). This was when Timothy and the other monks set out to find him (*VH* 10, 1). The question whether they came to realize their mistake and admitted Hypatios was right is however left unreported! Likewise, in the reconciliation scene, no inordinate humbleness can be seen on Timothy's part, with both of the feuding ascetics falling to each another's feet. Even though Hypatios was to become the hegumen, there seems to be no clear winner here (*VH* 10, 8). The author concludes the whole affair with a very intriguing statement uttered by Jonas: “Don't be surprised. There were quarrels even among the holy apostles.”³¹ This passage seems to convey the author's stance on the conflict in the monastic community after Hypatios' death. It may have been written after the controversies had already ceased, in order to allay any continuing animosity, which the aforementioned passage at *VH* 56, 1 seems to corroborate. The author appears to take the position of an impartial arbitrator, his agenda being as follows: any mutual grudge must be forgotten and the life of the congregation should henceforth be based on concord. Monks should not search for a guilty party, as it was Satan who was the cause of all the feuds among them.

²⁸ Cf. *VH* 18, 3, where a certain man named Akylas had arrived at the monastery with his wife and five children. His wife settled in a cell, far from her husband, as a recluse, but, as the text implies, not outside but within the *Rouphinianai*. On double monasteries, see PARGOIRE (1912), pp. 21–25; ELM (1992), pp. 13–23; STRAMMARA (1998), pp. 269–312 and WIPSZYCKA (2000), pp. 247–259.

²⁹ *VH* 9, 2: ...ἐκεῖνος ὃ ἔλαττον ἀκέραιος ὢν καὶ πνευματικός...

³⁰ *VH* 8, 1.

³¹ *VH* 10, 7: Μὴ ξενίζεσθε· καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ἀποστόλους ἐγένετο παροξυσμός.

As can be seen, the figure of the anonymous first addressee, who was apparently associated with the monastery, as well as the presence of a community of monks to whom the text is also (perhaps even primarily) directed, would indicate that the work was composed with the intent of being used inside the monastery. At the same time, another probable intent was to write down a certain set of regulations: a compilation of the first hegumen's teachings.

Although certain passages of the *VH* would indeed suggest that the author's intention was to propagate the reverence for Hypatios,³² I think this was in fact an obvious consequence (as viewed by the author) of Hypatios' life and deeds, not the primary purpose of his hagiographical work.

This intra-monastic character of the work also seems to be confirmed by the date of its origin. Thanks to some clues in the *VH* and the Editor's Dedication, the time-frame of the composition may be significantly narrowed,³³ even though no exact date can be plausibly determined. It should be situated between Hypatios' death, ca. 446, and the events which are apparently contemporaneous with the process of the composition, or directly precede it (the dates of those events can be determined with precision). The tempestuous hail-storm described by Kallinikos (*VH* 52, 1) took place thirty days after the saint's death, in July 446. Five months later, in early 447, came the raids of the Huns (*VH* 52, 3), after which the Church of St Alexander was fortified (*VH* 52, 7). Thrace, the region most afflicted by the invasion, would not yet have been rebuilt (*VH* 52, 8). Moreover, as the author recalls, one year after Hypatios' death, a monk named Makarios, suffering from an illness, arrived at the *Rouphinianai* monastery (*VH* 42, 27).³⁴ As for events contemporaneous with the author, it seems that a niece of Hypatios was still living at the time of the work on the *VH* (*VH* 53, 3), as were the aforementioned priest Antiochos, who was converted by Hypatios (*VH* 44, 23), and the bishop Eulalios (*VH* 32, 12). Thanks to these details, it may be assumed that the *VH* would have been composed shortly after Hypatios' death, most probably in the years 447–450.³⁵

The composition of the work very soon after the holy man's death and following the raids of the Huns (which had caused much turmoil in Constantinople's monastic life) may therefore indicate that it would have aimed at bringing a certain measure of order into the mode of living at the *Rouphinianai* monastery.

³² E.g., *VH* 36, 7, enumerating the lands where Hypatios' fame reached and whence he received many eulogies; *VH* 10, 4, where the voice from heavens can be heard, addressing Hypatios and saying that the holy man ought to be, according to God's will, "a light to the nations of the whole world." – φῶς ἐθνῶν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (this particular phrase can be found in the Second Song of the Lord's Servant at Is 49:6; Simeon's prophecy – Luke 2:32; as well as Acts 13:47).

³³ In regard to the dates of the *VH*, I have for the most part drawn on Bartelink's findings in his introduction to the edition of *Sources Chrétiennes*: BARTELINK (1971), pp. 11–12.

³⁴ Let us add that according to the *VH* Makarios would have later stayed at the monastery for at least eighty days, i.e., his death can be dated no earlier than September 447, cf. *VH* 42, 27–31.

³⁵ This dating of the *VH* is also supported by DAGRON (1970), p. 231. A later dating can be found only in Beck, cf. BECK (1959), p. 404.

During the writing process, the author would have been drawing upon his own experiences as well as the recollections of senior monks (Prologue 5).³⁶ He does not begin by making reference to the existence of Hypatios' teachings in any written form, teachings he might have used in his work. It is only further on (VH 27, 6) that he notes that such texts did exist.

1.3. Originality and Borrowings

An analysis of the text of the *VH* reveals a considerable amount of borrowings, especially from Athanasius' *Life of Antony*. This is not very surprising as, at that time, the *VA* was considered the model for this sort of literature. However, in view of the fact that the author also draws extensively on other sources (e.g., the Pseudo-Makarian writings³⁷) and, above all, Scripture (particularly in the sections concerned with Hypatios' teachings), it should be evident that he is not particularly original in terms of stylistic and formal aspects of his work.

I would like to discuss briefly some parallels between the *VH* and the *VA*. The parallelism between the two *vitae* is intentional and related to the message of the work. In Kallinikos' words, Hypatios is to be seen as a "second Antony." It should not come as a surprise if we realize the fact of Antony's renown throughout the Roman Empire, not only in its Eastern part.³⁸ The similarities between the two saints are therefore fairly obvious; they are even a desirable feature in this type of literature. The saint being depicted must at least match, if not surpass, the paragon embodied in the Patriarch of Alexandria. The author states this with emphasis at the end of the *VH*: "In everything, Saint Hypatios followed our holy father Antony..."³⁹ Certain measures employed by the author, such as an accumulation of Hypatios' miracles towards the end of the work, something that cannot be found in the *VA*, are meant to convey the impression that Hypatios surpassed his spiritual master.⁴⁰

It should also be stressed that even though the analogies with the *VA* are considerable in Kallinikos' work (in both the form and the similarities of descriptions), this does not mean that for depiction of Hypatios the author of the *VH* would simply have copied patterns derived from Athanasius. In fact Kallinikos accords certain characteristic features to his protagonist which do not have any clear analogy in the *VA*: e.g.,

³⁶ For accounts of the monks of the *Rouphinianai* and of a number of other monasteries, cf. *VH* 4, 8, where Kallinikos recounts a narrative of the monks from the Halmyrissos monastery.

³⁷ On the parallels between the *VH* and the *Homilies* by Pseudo-Makarios, see below.

³⁸ Cf. BARTELINK (1994), pp. 68–70.

³⁹ *VH* 53, 4: Πάντα οὖν ἀκολούθως πράξας ὁ ἅγιος Ὑπάτιος τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίου... See also *VH* 53, 5–6, where it is confirmed in Hypatios' own words.

⁴⁰ It seems that Bartelink is inclined to hold a similar view, although it is not stated explicitly, cf. BARTELINK (1971), p. 35.

Hypatios is better educated than Antony,⁴¹ his own attitude to the relics of paganism is more uncompromising than that of Antony,⁴² just as it is more uncompromising with regard to Christian priests.⁴³ As can be seen, Kallinikos' message present in the *VH* is somewhat different, despite its similarities, from that of Athanasius. Still, it should once again be stressed that the *VA* had certainly served as a model for Kallinikos' work, extensively used the parallels between the two *vitae* reveal.⁴⁴

To sum up, the *Life of Hypatios* was written by Kallinikos, a monk who came from the Eastern provinces of the Empire, possibly from Armenia. Since at least as early as the mid-420s, the author of the *VH* had lived at the *Rouphinianai* monastery, and therefore he must have known their first hegumen well. The writing of the work is datable to between the years 447 and 450, shortly after the death of the protagonist depicted in the *VH*. The proximity between the life and activity of Hypatios and the dates of the origin of the *VH*, as well as Kallinikos' acquaintance with Hypatios, constitute important facts crucial to appraising the information conveyed in this hagiographical work. The work was composed during a difficult period for the monastic community, in the wake of the death of their first hegumen. It was therefore directed, first and foremost, to Kallinikos' fellow monks and constituted a sort of a monastic rule comprising Hypatios' teachings. Aside from the internal nature of the work, the *VH* was also intended to propagate the protagonist's name outside of the *Rouphinianai* community.

There is a large number of borrowings in the *VH*, especially from the Scripture, but also from the *Life of Antony* and the writings of Pseudo-Makarios. In most cases, the borrowings serve the author as a stylistic aid in the composition of the work.

1.4. Structure

Editor's Dedication

Prologue

Ch. 1–13 – *narratio hagiographica*

Ch. 14–48 – *argumentatio hagiographica*

Ch. 49–51 – the final *narratio hagiographica* – the saint's last moments and death

Ch. 52–56 – the conclusion depicting the events after Hypatios' death and the situation at the monastery at the time of the author's work on the *VH*

⁴¹ Cf. *VH* 1, 1, where the author stresses that Hypatios had received a proper education.

⁴² Cf. *VH* 30, 1, where Hypatios burns sacred trees; *VH* 45, where he opposes the worship of Artemis.

⁴³ Cf., e.g., *VH* 32, 12–16, where Hypatios enters into conflict with his bishop Eulalios. On Antony's relations with the clergy, see WIPSYCKA (1997), pp. 203–207.

⁴⁴ A list of parallels between the *VA* and *VH* can be found in BARTELINK (1971), pp. 37–38 and WÖLFLE (1986), pp. 23–32.

1.5. Hypatios – *Narratio Hagiographica*

The *Life of Hypatios* provides biographical data referring to the protagonist. They can be found primarily throughout the initial chapters of the *VH*, describing the figure and the life of Hypatios up to the time when he became hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* monastery.

Hypatios was born in Phrygia (*VH* 1, 1). There is almost no information concerning the monastic activity in that part of Asia Minor. Kallinikos tells us that the standards of the priests in Phrygia was low and there would have been only one or two monasteries in the province.⁴⁵

His parents were Christians; the author stresses that he had come from a respectable family (*VH* 1, 2; 7, 2) and received the appropriate education (*VH* 1, 2). This information is complemented further on, where it is noted that Hypatios devoted a great deal of time to reading and knew the principles of rhetoric.⁴⁶ His father is de-

⁴⁵ *VH* 1, 4. It was only when the Phrygians had heard of Hypatios' miraculous deeds that almost all of them converted to Christianity: *VH* 1, 5. It is possible that Phrygia may have been falling behind in regard to the level of Christianization and the growth of monastic life, when compared with the other provinces of the region, such as Cappadocia, Galatia, Armenia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, which were better-known for their flourishing asceticism, cf. MITCHELL (1995), pp. 109–121. In the sources dealing with the monasticism of the period, Phrygia is omitted, with the exception of the figure of Hypatios. Particularly in the southern and eastern parts of Asia Minor, in Lycaonia, Armenia, and Pamphylia, Messalian asceticism would have been growing at the close of the 4th century, reaching its height in the 420s and 430s, cf. STEWART (1991), p. 12. There is no similar evidence concerning Phrygia. However, we do know that Phrygia was a land where many heretical movements bloomed, which may have hindered the development of the orthodox monasticism, cf. SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 32, where it is said that Phrygia was a land of Montanists, and SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 28, who notes that Phrygia was inhabited by many Novatianists. Unlike Kallinikos, Socrates who was associated with the Novatianists has a very favourable opinion of the Phrygians, cf. FOSS (1991b), pp. 1671–1672.

⁴⁶ *VH* 29, 1–3. Despite the fact that many holy men would not have any classical education: the great Syrian ascetic Macedonius had to communicate with Antiochene officials through an interpreter, as he could only speak in Syriac; Theodoret describes him as a man without any formal education, simple-minded, and even not well-acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XIII, 7–8; likewise, Antony of Egypt did not receive any secular education, as Athanasius clearly states in his work, cf. *VA* 1, where Antony is presented as not wanting to be educated and attain knowledge; *VA* 72, where Athanasius stresses that Antony could not read or write; *VA* 73, referring to Antony being visited at Pispir by some philosophers who ridiculed his lack of education; *VA* 78, showing the superiority of the simple, and uneducated, faith, over sophisticated pagan knowledge; another holy man from Egypt, Paul the Simple, attained such a degree of sanctity, owing to his simplicity, that he was able to drive out a demon from a man, which Antony had not been able to do, cf. PALLADIUS, *HL* XXII). Conversely, a number of well-educated figures appear in some of the *vitae*, e.g., a Syrian holy man named Aphraates, a Persian who came to Antioch and visited a school of philosophers, cf. THEODORET, *HR* VIII, 2; Paul, the protagonist of the *Vita S. Pauli* by Jerome was educated in both Greek and Egyptian systems of knowledge, cf. JEROME, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*, IV, 1. It is noteworthy that hagiographers never refrain from commending the intellectual merits of their protag-

scribed as a *scholasticus*.⁴⁷ The author states that holiness was characteristic of Hypatios since childhood (VH 1, 2); he spent much time in church or in a monastery (VH 1, 3).⁴⁸ It is also noted that he had a sister (HV 1, 8).⁴⁹

At the age of eighteen, Hypatios ran away from home after he had been beaten up by his father (VH 1, 7).⁵⁰ In a church, he heard this excerpt from the Gospel: “Everyone who leaves his father or mother or brothers or sisters or wife or children or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life.” (VH 1, 8),⁵¹ which would have underlain his decision to continue his wanderings and journey to Thrace (VH 1, 9).

onists as well as their education. The holy man frequently makes up for his insufficient education in miraculous ways, cf. PATLAGEAN (1983), p. 103.

47 VH 1, 1: ...σχολαστικός τε ὢν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ... Kallinikos uses the term *scholasticus* not in the technical sense referring to an attorney, but as designating an educated and sophisticated individual, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 16, n. 2. The wealthy family background is quite typical for a number of holy men. It is said in the *Life of Antony* that this holy ascetic, Hypatios’ role model, came from a respectable and affluent family (cf. VA 1–2, with the information that Antony’s parents had owned 300 *arouras* of land, i.e., a fairly sizeable property). Melania the Elder would also have possessed great riches (PALLADIUS, HL LIV, 1); Paul, Jerome’s character and a rival to Antony, inherited considerable wealth as well (JEROME, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*, IV, 1); Marcian, a Syrian holy man, came from an aristocratic family (THEODORET, HR III, 1); Abba Arsenius, another aristocrat, became a Desert Father (AP, *Abba Arsenius* 36); Bishop Porphyry of Gaza, came from a noble family (MARK THE DEACON, *Vita Porphyrii* 4), Thomas the Armenian was reputedly the son of a satrap of Syria and Armenia (JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Vitae Sanctorum Orientalium* 21).

48 In contrast to the author’s further comments on Phrygia’s poor degree of Christianization. VH 1, 3 reads as follows: ...διαδράς ἀπέλθῃ ἢ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ ἐν μοναστηρίῳ, ὅπου ἂν εὕρῃ ἄνδρας εὐλαβεῖς. For this reason, in my opinion, the author’s information related to Phrygia should be approached with a great caution. The motif *puer-senex* can be often found in *vitae* and it is supposed to underscore the difference between the holy man and the common people. For instance, in his childhood, Antony was obedient to his parents and listened to Biblical readings to gather knowledge for himself (VA 1). Theodoret notes that Peter the Galatian would perform glorious deeds even when just a child (THEODORET, HR IX, 1). Likewise, Theodore of Sykeon was a child who had learned things more quickly than others, cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 5. On the contrary, no accounts can be found with depictions of holy men who, in their childhood, would have been capricious or disrespectful to the elderly, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1960), p. 137 ff; ELLIOTT (1987), p. 81; GIANNARELLI (1988), pp. 279–284; GIANNARELLI (1998), p. 57.

49 Antony also had a sister whom he had intended to be brought up in virginity (VA 2–3). Paul, the protagonist of Jerome’s *Vita S. Pauli*, had a married sister, who had inherited, alongside Paul, some considerable property (JEROME, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*, IV, 1). Theodore of Sykeon had a younger sister named Blatta; he entrusted her to a community of virgins at Ancyra (*Vita Theodori Syceotae* 9).

50 According to Bartelink and le Boulluec, Hypatios’ age at the time of his leaving home is of symbolic significance. In Greek, the number 18 was designated with the letters ιη – which at the same time are the first letters of the name Jesus, cf. VH, p. 77, n. 4, and LE BOULLUEC (1984), p. 250. On the motif of leaving home, see ELLIOTT (1987), p. 81.

51 VH 1, 8: Ὅστις ἀφῆκεν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφάς ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ τέκνα ἢ ἀργούς ἑνεκεν ἐμοῦ, ἐκατονταπλασίονα λήψεται καὶ ζῶνι αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει. As cited from Mt 19:29, with Kallinikos’ minor alterations in the citation.

Another interesting question is the emphasis on his flight from his excessively stern father, while at the same time his mother is almost completely overlooked, in spite of the fact that the hagiographers would normally devote more attention to the saints' mothers.⁵² However, in the *VH*, the father turns up once again, this time in a longer passage at *VH* 7. This may point to a reliable account of Hypatios' relationship with his father. In this regard, Kallinikos does not seem to have added anything to the information he had heard from the holy man. On the other hand, the Biblical grounds for Hypatios' decision to dedicate one's life to God can be also found in some other sources. The most distinctive one is a parallel situation in the *VA*, where the founder of the Egyptian monasticism also gives his property away and begins to live the life of an ascetic after having heard a passage from the Holy Bible.⁵³ A similar situation is the case of the greatest of the Syrian holy men, Simeon the Stylite, who decides to embark on the path of the eremitic life after he had heard an excerpt from the Gospel.⁵⁴ The situation is very much like the one in the fragment from Athanasius' work, although Kallinikos makes it clear that Hypatios himself would have referred to that event: "ὡς διηγήσατο," which suggests that the author was concerned with lending credence to this information.

In Thrace, Hypatios was hired by a landowner to graze his sheep (*VH* 2, 6). Later on, he began to sing psalms in a nearby church (*VH* 2, 8–9), yet he became disenchanted due to the drunkenness and bad conduct of the local clergy (*VH* 2, 10). The mention that the holy man had herded sheep in his youth is based on figures from the Old Testament, as acknowledged by the author himself (*VH* 2, 7).⁵⁵ Herding sheep in their young age serves as a symbol for holy men's later function as shepherds of God's People. This is confirmed by Kallinikos, who states clearly that God had told Hypatios that he would in the future go on to herd the spiritual sheep of Christ (*VH* 2, 6). The theme is continued with the statement that Hypatios sang psalms in a church. This may point to his becoming a lector, the lectorship being the lowest clerical rank.⁵⁶ Since it appears in the text that his involvement in performing this new function was linked to his abandonment of his previous pastoral occupation, it is plain that the Divine prophecy was in the early stages of being realized. Simultaneously, the author clarifies why Hypatios would not have followed the ordinary route of a clerical career and settled on choosing the life of an ascetic instead:

⁵² Cf. BROWNING (1981), p. 121.

⁵³ *VA* 2–3.

⁵⁴ THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 2. In Theodoret's account, there appears a figure that helps Simeon to understand the message of the Gospel, which is something that cannot be found in Athanasius or Kallinikos. However, just as in the case of the *VH*, Theodoret states that Simeon had himself recounted the event.

⁵⁵ In his youth, Simeon the Stylite would have similar experiences as a swineherd, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 2.

⁵⁶ Lectors were initially laymen, then low-ranking clerics, whose most important function was the reading of excerpts from the Acts or the Old Testament (at the lectern) during liturgy. Lectors were ordained through receipt of the sign of the cross, cf. MAGDALINO (1991a), p. 84.

while fulfilling his duties, he became disheartened by the clergy he had known. The author states the following reasons: drunkenness, immoral conduct, negligence of duties, fitting in with Kallinikos' earlier negative opinion on the Phrygian clergy. In actual fact, the hagiographer may have been simply biased towards the rural clergy. However, as it is known that the cultural and religious standards of the low-ranking clergy would have varied, and were often very poor, there is no reason to reject this particular account in Kallinikos' work.⁵⁷

As noted above, Hypatios did not choose to continue with a clerical career. At twenty years of age, he joined the hermit Jonas, who had been in charge of the monastery at Halmyrissos⁵⁸ (VH 3, 8–9), where he became involved in such practices as: care for the sick (VH 4, 2), exercises in contemplation (VH 4, 1), rigorous asceticism (VH 5, 1–2, 8), as well as obedience (VH 5, 9–10), nearly surpassing his master in virtues (VH 3, 12).

Jonas is an otherwise unknown figure. He was an Armenian, a soldier who had withdrawn from the world and was discharged from his military service by the Emperor Arcadius (VH 3, 1–5).⁵⁹ He had built a hut in the mountains, where he was living the ascetic life on a diet of wild plants. Very soon, local inhabitants came to take care of his needs and built a cell for him, in which he could pursue his ascetic virtues (VH 3, 5–6).⁶⁰ Further on, the following significant piece of information can be found (VH 4, 7): Jonas was ordained a priest, which was not very common for monks, albeit relatively more frequent in Constantinopolitan monasticism. From the account of Hypatios' presence at Halmyrissos, it would seem that the monastery of Jonas was a coenobitic community, and its founder is described with the following titles: ὁσιος

⁵⁷ Cf. WIPSZYCKA (1994), pp. 35–36.

⁵⁸ Kallinikos notes that the Halmyrissos monastery was located in Thrace. The only identified location of this name is situated in the region of Dobrudzha, in the Danube Delta (present-day Dunavătu de Jos), but this location does not fit in with the information from Kallinikos that the monastery of Jonas was situated in mountains (VH 3, 5), cf. POPESCU (1976), p. 180.

⁵⁹ This is a controversial issue. If one assumes Kallinikos' reference to Hypatios coming to the monastery of Jonas at twenty years of age to be true, this event must have taken place no later than 386, and perhaps even earlier. Although Arcadius had held the title of *Augustus* since early 383, he was only nine years old in 386, and the actual ruler was his father. It should be assumed, therefore, that the author would have confused Arcadius with his father Theodosius, or the event in question took place at least two years later, when Theodosius went to the West in 388 in connection with Maximus' usurpation, with Arcadius remaining the sole ruler in the East, cf. STEIN (1959), p. 207 and CURRAN (1998), p. 107.

⁶⁰ The figure of a soldier who leaves Imperial service in order to serve God can be found relatively often in hagiography. One such soldier was Pachomius, the founder of the coenobitic monasticism, cf. DESPREZ (1996), pp. 16–20; other instances are Dalmatios (who was also the superior of a coenobitic community) and Martin of Tours (SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Vita S. Martini* 2–4). Former soldiers can be found among anchorites as well, e.g., Zeno, one of the protagonists of the *Historia Religiosa*, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XII, 2: Zeno was a soldier during the reign of Valens, and was later to become one of the *agentes in rebus*. Cf. also DELEHAYE (1909), for the *vitae* of some holy soldiers: Theodore, Gregory, Procopius, Mercury, and Demetrius.

διδάσκαλος (VH 3, 12), ἡγουμένος (VH 4, 5), ἀββᾶς (VH 4, 7), ἀρχιμανδρίτης (VH 5, 9), κύρις (VH 6, 4, used by Kallinikos as equivalent to *abba*). As a matter of fact, the titles of hegumen and archimandrite were used to refer to the superior of a coenobitic community. The community of Jonas was a comparatively populous one, as it comprised a total of eighty monks living together, within the fortified precincts, and cultivating land (VH 3, 10–11). The fortifications were erected with the purpose of defending the monks against the possible threat of raids by the Huns, not because they wished to live in seclusion from the world.⁶¹ In this case, as in that of Hypatios as well, Jonas' ascetic path leads from the hermitage to the monastic community, as opposed to Egyptian monasticism, where spiritual growth within the community would come before becoming an anchorite in the desert.

Hypatios came to this monastery founded by Jonas. In consequence, the latter became the first teacher of this holy man, who would soon proceed to attain his high level of spiritual perfection. At this point, Kallinikos enumerates the virtues that ought to be practised by the ascetic: fasting, vigil, singing psalms, prayer, obedience, contemplation, humility, poverty (VH 3, 12). Labour is not mentioned among these virtues, but all the spiritual practices are well represented.⁶² Let us also take note of the emphasis placed by the author on obedience to one's superiors.⁶³

⁶¹ According to Bartelink, the Goths posed a greater threat to the monastery of Jonas than the Huns, cf. VH, p. 84, n. 1. However the threat of an attack by the Huns was not inconceivable during that period. On the situation in the Balkans at the close of the 4th century and the threat of incursions by Goths and Huns, cf. STRZELCZYK (1984), pp. 177–179; HEATHER (1991), pp. 183–192 and HEATHER (1998), pp. 128–135.

⁶² The labour, its division and organization, is extensively described in Pachomian writings, cf., e.g., PL, *Praecepta* 5, 24, 27, 58–67, 123, 124. The information referring to the holy man's quick progress in attaining these virtues, even in emulating his master (and, of course, surpassing all the other monks), is a frequent theme in hagiography. After his arrival at the Teleda monastery, Simeon also went on to compete with eighty monks for a period of ten years, and surpassed all of them; eventually, his overly rigorous practices led to his departure from the monastery (THEODORET, HR XXVI, 5). Interestingly, the number of the monks at Teleda matches that of the monastery at Halmyrissos. In both cases, the number amounts to as many as eighty monks. Theodore had written his work in 444, and therefore Kallinikos may have drawn on that source, as he would have been writing his own several years later. In my opinion, however, this is not very likely. The famous holy man Makarios of Alexandria came to the monastery of Pachomius, where during Lent he surpassed all the other monks in ascetic practices to such an extent that they demanded his expulsion (PALLADIUS, HL XVIII, 12–16). The rationale for such rivalry in asceticism was an excerpt from the first letter of Paul of Tarsus to Timothy: "Fight the good fight of faith and win the eternal life to which you were called and for which you made your noble profession of faith before many witnesses." (1 Tm 6:12) Hence, the ascetic rivalry was often termed ἀγών, and such an ascetic was likened to an athlete. The same comparison is used by Kallinikos, cf. Prologue 3 and VH 24, 78, where Hypatios compares an ascetic with a wrestling athlete, in reference to 1 Cor 9:25.

⁶³ This is in conformity with the Pachomian conception of coenobitism (PL, *Liber Orsiesii*, 19), less so with the daily practice of the prominent holy men (cf. THEODORET, HR XXVI, 5, where the superiors opposed Simeon's exceedingly stringent ascetic practices [just as Jonas attempted to stop Hypatios

Another characteristic feature of Hypatios' asceticism is his devotion to providing care for the sick. It may even seem that he would have often done his service without Jonas' knowledge, sometimes in violation of the latter's instruction. This is clearly evident in the passage (VH 4, 5–7), where Kallinikos describes how Hypatios would walk far beyond the monastery under some false pretext, in order to search for the infirm; then, he would come back with them and lay them secretly in the doorway of the monastery, so that the monks could take them inside the building and he could care for them.

Further on, Kallinikos reports that Hypatios' father arrived at Constantinople to attend to some unspecified matter. He also visited his son in the monastery at Halmyrissos (VH 7, 1). During that meeting, Hypatios was told his mother had died (VH 7, 3) and, with Jonas' consent, he left the monastery with his father and went to Constantinople, where they stayed with a man named Eleutheros. The father attended to the aforementioned business and then returned to Phrygia, where he died (VH 7, 4). The chapter goes on to stress the status of Hypatios' family once again: the fellow monks were amazed at the sight of his father's dignified appearance.⁶⁴ Residence at the Constantinople home⁶⁵ of the said Eleutheros,⁶⁶ most certainly an acquaintance of Hypatios' father, points to connections with prominent figures in the capital, which speaks for his family's high social standing.

In Constantinople, the famous ascetic Timothy and a monk named Moschion joined Hypatios (VH 8, 1–2). However, he was not in the end able to live the life of an ascetic within the precincts of the monastery. The Phrygian clearly said that he was accustomed to living in the mountains, not in the city.⁶⁷ For that reason, he crossed the Bosphorus, followed the example of hermits, and decided to look for a mountain or cave where he could dwell (VH 8, 3–4). He settled at the monastery of Rousphinos, previously inhabited and subsequently deserted by Egyptian monks.⁶⁸ Soon afterwards, Moschion and Timothy joined him there, and Hypatios

from such overly rigorous asceticism], and failed to persuade the famous stylite, who would not have made his ascetic conduct any less strict, contrary to their explicit orders).

⁶⁴ VH 7, 2: Ἦν γὰρ γέρων καὶ λίαν εὐνόληπτος.

⁶⁵ Kallinikos uses the word προάστειον here, which may refer to suburbs, a suburban estate, or, in the Byzantine Empire, an estate in general, cf. LIDDELL, SCOTT (1996), p. 1469; SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 921.

⁶⁶ In the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*, there is a figure named Eleutheros, a prominent citizen of Constantinople, whose wife was a follower of John Chrysostom in 404 (PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, X, 7–8). These two figures should not be identified with one another, cf. PLRE, p. 390.

⁶⁷ VH 8, 3: Ἐγὼ συνήθισα εἰς τὸ ὄρος οἰκεῖν, οὐ γὰρ εἰς πόλιν.

⁶⁸ Along with the monastic communities of Isaac and Dios, the *Rousphinianai* was among the first important orthodox male monasteries in Constantinople. A reconstruction of its location was carried out by Janin. The monastery was situated on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, south-east of the Chalcedonian Peninsula, at the location once known as “the Oak”: (Δρῦς). The road from Constantinople to Syria ran in the vicinity of the monastery, cf. JANIN (1964), pp. 504–505 and MELIOPOULOS

began to vie with the latter in asceticism (*VH* 8, 8–10). The only clue that could prove helpful in attempting to date this particular event is a passage at *VH* 10, which includes the information that, following on from his feud with Timothy, Hypatios returned to the *Rouphinianai* and became hegumen of the monastery at the age of forty, i.e., ca. 406.⁶⁹ Even if the year 406 is assumed as the date of the eventual reconciliation of the community, the arrival of Hypatios and his companions to the *Rouphinianai* must have taken place at an earlier date (the ascetics would have stayed for at least one winter at the monastery before the feud; otherwise, it would be difficult to know for sure how long their rivalry had been going on). In effect, the arrival at the *Rouphinianai* must have taken place prior to 405, most likely ca. 400.⁷⁰

The monks earned their own living: weaving, making baskets, gardening (*VH*, 8, 11). The monastery where they moved in was a very neglected place (*VH* 8, 19) and they lived in terrible poverty (*VH* 17, 1–8). During one winter, they were saved by a wealthy Christian woman, a deaconess (*VH* 8, 14–17).⁷¹ Finally, Urbikios took care of the rebuilding the compound's dilapidated buildings (*VH* 12, 13; *VH* 15, 9).

The growth of the monastery and its day-to-day existence depended on the generosity of donors. Without the aid of the wealthy people from aristocratic circles and of the political authorities the functioning of a monastery located beyond the walls of the capital would have been much hindered, perhaps even impossible. Even though the monks made efforts to sustain themselves through their own hard labour, this sort of a communal enterprise would not have ensured the survival of the commun-

(1900), pp. 63–71. Concerning the identification of Ἀρῦς with the *Rouphinianai*, cf. also PARGOIRE (1899b), pp. 429–430 and PARGOIRE (1902), p. 340. The monastery was founded along with the Church of Sts. Apostles Peter and Paul, housing the relics of these Apostles brought from Rome in 393 by Praetorian Prefect Fl. Rouphinos, who wished to be buried in the church (Paperboch was the only one to claim that the founder of the complex was Rufinus Proculus, consul in 316, or Junius Rufinus, consul in 323. Paperboch's assertions have found no support among scholars, cf. PARGOIRE (1899b), pp. 431–435). In the same, or the next, year the Prefect was baptized at this church among a great number of bishops and monks. Rouphinos also brought Egyptian monks to the monastery, yet they returned to their homeland after Rouphinos had been murdered (November 27, 395). This probably occurred in the same, or early in the next, year, perhaps in connection with the danger that Rouphinos' protégés may have faced after his downfall and death. The monastery was abandoned and continued to stand desolate for the next several years (cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 234; PARGOIRE (1899b), pp. 437–439; on the fall of Rouphinos, cf. STEIN (1959), pp. 228–230 and LIEBESCHUETZ (1992), pp. 89–92). In my opinion, the monastery had not been inhabited for about five years following the monks' departure, after which Hypatios and his companions appear to have occupied the place, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 85; BARTELINK (1971), pp. 15–16. On the depiction of Rouphinos in the *VH*, see below.

⁶⁹ *VH* 10, 8. It is best to approach this sort of information with caution, especially as regards times very much removed from the period when the *VH* was composed. And here again, let us stress that the information given by Kallinikos is only approximate (the author always states Hypatios' age using "round" numbers, thus they should be taken as general indications only). On the chronology of Hypatios, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), pp. 85–86.

⁷⁰ On Hypatios' possible participation in the Synod of the Oak (403), see below.

⁷¹ On the deaconess, see below.

ity. Besides, the question of patronage in the proximity of Constantinople was quite standard, with the largest monasteries having originated as foundations of the affluent and influential.⁷² The *VH* depicts a strikingly similar situation. The community could barely make ends meet until some wealthy individuals came and helped organize the daily existence of the monks who were living in the ruined buildings of the original foundation set up by Routhinos.

Thanks to Urbikios' support, the *Rouphinianai* monastery was enlarged by the addition of a chapel and new cells for the monks (*VH* 12, 13). This might not have come to pass before the year 434, however, when Urbikios took office for the first time.⁷³ As a result this information would refer to a period beyond the time-span of the *narratio hagiographica*. The question of the relation between Urbikios and Hypatios will be discussed in more detail further on.

Kallinikos reports that at a certain moment a disagreement between Hypatios and Timothy had arisen (*VH* 9, 1–2), which led to the holy man's return to Thrace, to the monastery of Jonas, where he devoted himself entirely to a life of contemplation (*VH* 9, 3–10).

The feud between Hypatios and Timothy has already been mentioned in the context of the controversy at the *Rouphinianai* after Hypatios' death.⁷⁴ As stated above, as a general rule hagiographical works tend to omit inconvenient events from the saints' lives, unless they can be used to demonstrate the superiority, in virtue and holiness, of the protagonist over his opponent, who ought to be a wicked man or someone whose moral understanding is intentionally constrained by God in order to better display the greatness of the saint. In the account in question, Kallinikos does not seem to have stressed any of the above factors, as the real cause of the discord is the devil. Timothy may have been, as a matter of fact, a celebrated or prominent figure at the monastery later on, and it would not have seemed appropriate to censure him excessively. The author could, however, have skipped the question of the disagreement altogether, as it might have portraided Hypatios and Timothy in a rather unfavourable light.⁷⁵ It may be concluded therefore that the author intentionally included his account of the controversy between the founders of the monastic community at the *Rouphinianai* and the course thereof, in order to provide a reflection

⁷² Isaac would lead his ascetic life in a cell built for him by his protector Saturninos; afterwards, the growth of his community would be connected with the foundation of Dalmatios, who would have given his property to the monastery, while the *Rouphinianai* itself was linked with the original foundation by Routhinos, who had established Egyptian monks at that location. Their community continued to remain there until the death of their influential protector. The organization of all the prominent monastic communities at the capital would have been linked to financial support provided by affluent citizens, for the most part associated with the Imperial court, cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 232–236 and HATLIE (2008), pp. 66–70 and 91–93.

⁷³ On Urbikios, see below.

⁷⁴ See above.

⁷⁵ Although there is some evidence for such cases, e.g., the *Vita Hilarii* depicts the protagonist's dispute with Pope Leo the Great, cf. HONORATUS OF MARSEILLES, *Vita Hilarii* 22.

of his own view of the then ongoing, or already concluded, feud at the monastery.⁷⁶ Did Hypatios resign and have to retreat to the monastery of his spiritual master? It seems that he did. In any case, the underlying cause was a leadership dispute, as can be seen at *VH* 9.⁷⁷ The dispute ended in Hypatios' loss; even though the author claims it was the holy man's humility that made him withdraw from the community, one should view this sort of argument as a purely hagiographical topos.

Ultimately, however, the feud would not break up the community at the *Rouphinianai*. Timothy and the monks (it seems that by that time there would have been more of them, not just Moschion) would insist on Hypatios' return to the monastery (*VH* 10, 1). It is evident that the community had been growing again by then. Hypatios had a revelation: he heard a voice (*VH* 10, 4) which caused him to return to the *Rouphinianai*, where he was reconciled with Timothy and was elected hegumen. All of this would have happened when Hypatios was forty years old, i.e., ca. 406 (*VH* 10, 7–8). Hypatios gained the support of Isaac, the mentor of the Constantinopolitan monks (*VH* 11, 2–3). By then, the congregation had grown to 30 monks (*VH* 12, 1), and later on to as many as 50 (*VH* 18, 2).

In the conclusion of the *narratio hagiographica*, Kallinikos notes that Hypatios had been ordained a priest under pressure from bishop Philotheos (*VH* 13, 2).⁷⁸

76 It is also possible that the author's intention was to place Hypatios away from the *Rouphinianai* at the moment when a synod against John Chrysostom was taking place there, so as to avoid implicating his protagonist in the expulsion of such an outstanding figure. In my opinion, the author's inclusion here of his agenda concerning the controversy at the monastery after Hypatios' death is more plausible. Besides, these two interpretations are not mutually exclusive.

77 *VH* 9, 2: Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὑπάτιος ὑπάρχων συνετὸς παρεχώρει αὐτῷ – ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ τόπος – , ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλαττον ἀκέραιος ὦν καὶ πνευματικὸς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἤθελε κρατεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν οὔτε τὸν Ὑπάτιον ἔα διοικῆσαι.

78 The question of the holy man's priesthood is not very common in the sources from the 5th century. The clergy and the founders of a monastic life appear to have been two disparate groups, each one acting very much independently of the other. Although the faithful would often have chosen monks to become priests, bishops, or deacons, the candidates themselves tended to shirk from such duties, in order to avoid the limitations that would have been imposed on their spiritual practices, cf. DEGÓRSKI (1993–1995), p. 235, as well as *AP, Abba Theodore of Ferme*, 25, where Theodore does everything he can to evade taking on the duties of a deacon, in which he is apparently assisted by God. Theodoret emphasizes that Jacob would not have changed his ascetic ways even after becoming a bishop (THEODORET, *HR* I, 7). Other reasons for apprehension also existed, e.g., Pachomius had seen the dangers of ambition, which could potentially prove detrimental to the monastic community, latent in the possibility of taking up the clerical duties; the assumption of ecclesiastical honours could also become a cause of pride on the part of those who received them, as well as of envy in others, cf. DE VOGÜÉ (1987), p. 20. Some ascetics would take dramatic steps to avoid priesthood, e.g., Ammonios had gone so far as to cut off his ear just to avoid it (PALLADIUS, *HL* XI, 1–3). The sources report that monks would be sometimes be consecrated under duress or against their will, cf., e.g., *AP, Abba Makarios*, 1, where Makarios is caught by some local villagers and ordained as their priest against his will. Nevertheless, in the late 4th century, there were many monks who became priests or bishops, including such notable examples as Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, both of them ascetics who would go on to become celebrated bishops. There are more examples of such fig-

This is followed by an account of the deeds of the saint, which does not correspond to any reasonable timeline of the datable episodes (e. g., the episode of the *Akoimetoï* expulsion ensues after the Olympic games affair at Chalcedon). The hagiographer returns to the chronology in his depiction of Hypatios' last days and death, as well as the events taking place immediately afterwards.

The second *narratio* relates the events immediately preceding Hypatios' death, ending in a description thereof. Three months before his death, an ascetic named Zeno arrived at the monastery and, before long, died there (VH 49, 1–7). Subsequently, at the age of eighty, after a period of forty years in charge of the monastery (VH 50, 1), the holy hegumen passed away,⁷⁹ leaving behind a community of fifty monks (VH 51, 6). Hypatios was interred at the monastery chapel, in a stone tomb founded by Urbikios, next to the ascetic Ammonios (VH 51, 9–12).

In the *narratio hagiographica*, Kallinikos describes the spiritual growth of his protagonist as an ascetic and his path from a remote, not entirely Christianized, land to the capital city of the Empire. However, Hypatios would not have headed straight for Constantinople; he reached the capital only after the many experiences garnered through successive stages of his ascetic life before finally going on to become the head of a prominent monastery, situated beyond the walls of the City, though in its immediate vicinity.

2. Analysis

2.1. Hypatios' Relations with Secular Authority

VH 24, with the hagiographer's account of Hypatios' teachings, offers a general view of the relations between the saint and figures of authority. At VH 24, 44–51, Hypatios recounts the gifts that God assigns for monks. One of them is as follows: "Fourth, for the sake of God, leaders and kings are surrounded with high esteem in the world; of

ures, one of the best known is Martin of Tours, who was ordained a bishop, cf. Sulpitius Severus, *Vita Martini Tironensis*, 9. The combination of asceticism and priesthood, the latter entailing the necessity of being subordinate to the local diocesan bishop, was fairly characteristic for Constantinople in that period. The great originators of monastic life in Constantinople, Dalmatios and Jonas of Halmirissos, were priests as well as leaders of their monastic communities. According to the list of 448 (to which I also refer elsewhere in this book), out of a total number of 23, 18 monks are designated as priests, one is a deacon, cf. ACO, II, I, pp. 146–147). On Philotheos, see below. On the priesthood in monasticism, see also ESCOLAN (1999), pp. 267–311.

⁷⁹ Hypatios died on Sunday, June 30, 446. Reaching the age of eighty was comparatively uncommon in Byzantine times, cf. TALBOT (1984), p. 268. On the problem of life expectancy in the Byzantine Empire, see also PATLAGEAN (1977), pp. 95–101. On the similarity between the account of Hypatios' death and the relevant fragment in the VA, see ALEXANDRE (1984), p. 263.

course, those who are Christians show us respect.”⁸⁰ The world shall pay homage to, and serve, the sovereigns, whereas the sovereigns, and the rest of the world, shall pay homage to the monks. When talking about Christian rulers, Hypatios was probably referring to the Roman Empire and the Empire’s power structure. He placed monks very high up in the social hierarchy, while, at the same time, this view would suggest that the ascetic did not need to make a great effort to gain the favour of figures with authority, as it was earned automatically. The rights of the ascetic would not stem directly from the rulers’ admiration for his great godliness, but from their own love of God, hence the restriction to Christian sovereigns. Non-Christian rulers could hold the holy man in high esteem as well,⁸¹ but it would depend on the holy man himself, e.g., on his miraculous healing powers. For obvious reasons this could not equal the respect that the Christian ruler owed to the ascetic on account of his love of God.

Nonetheless, as the *VH* shows, this particular view would not always hold true. Some representatives of authority would not always show their regard for Hypatios.

2.1.1. Relations with the Emperors and Members of the Imperial Family

The emperors are mentioned on relatively few occasions:

- Ch. 3, where the Emperor Arcadius relieves Jonas of his military service (*VH* 3, 3–5),
- Ch. 11, where the Emperor Theodosius II brings the relics of John Chrysostom to the capital (*VH* 11, 7),
- at *VH* 15, 9, where Urbikios founds a sarcophagus for the monks with the Emperor’s support,
- at *VH* 32, 17–18, the Emperor appears in connection with the figure of Nestorius,
- the entire Ch. 37 deals with Theodosius II and his sisters.

As I have noted before, acknowledging Arcadius as the emperor who relieved Jonas of his military duties is problematic or, in any case, does not correspond to the dates assumed by Kallinikos, though the important thing here is that the passage introduces the figure of an emperor, either Theodosius or Arcadius. In spite of the fact that Hypatios would not have any contact with the Emperor, the episode points to the author’s positive attitude towards the ruler. The figure of the Emperor at *VH* 3 is depicted in a favourable light. The hagiographer describes him as εὐσεβέστατος (*VH* 3, 2), very pious, proving his prudence thanks to his understanding of Jonas’ religious goals and relieving the latter of his military service.

⁸⁰ *VH* 24, 47: Τέταρτον, ὅτι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸν Θεόν καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ κατὰ κόσμον ἑνδοξοί, δῆλον ὅτι χριστιανοὶ ὄντες.

⁸¹ Cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 20, with the information that Simeon the Stylite had been held in great esteem by the Persian king.

Theodosius is more extensively featured in Kallinikos' work. This should not come as a surprise, as the reign of this Emperor overlaps with the years of Hypatios' most intense activity and his greatest renown.⁸² It is thought that the Emperor was under the influence of his elder sister Pulcheria, a very pious person, who shaped her brother's personality to a considerable extent. Others refer to his docility in facing influential officials and ladies at court.⁸³ However, such views have been questioned in recent years by those scholars who prefer to take a more cautious approach.⁸⁴ Indeed, Theodosius was a pious ruler. His Imperial palace resembled a monastery, with the Emperor fervently preoccupied with the observance of religious practices. His Christian attitude would have manifested itself through regular fasting, getting up early in the morning and singing psalms with his sisters, his thorough knowledge of the Holy Bible, as well as his vast collection of theological works. Not only would he collect writings by Christian authors, he was also well acquainted with theology.⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that he had great respect for priests, with particular reverence reserved for monks (a significant piece of information for our purposes).⁸⁶ For an example of the Emperor's subservience to monks, let us cite the events that took place at the capital during the Council of Ephesus (431), when the appearance in the streets of Constantinople of the famous monk Dalmatios, until then living for many years in complete seclusion at a monastery (where Theodosius visited him on many occasions), seems to have played a significant role in the Emperor's change of position in the Nestorian controversy.⁸⁷

82 The Emperor was born on April 10, 401 and reigned from May 1, 408 until his tragic death on July 28, 450. On the reign of Theodosius II, cf. BURY (1958), pp. 212–235; STEIN (1959), pp. 275–311; BLOCKLEY (1998), pp. 128–135.

83 Cf. SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 1. On Theodosius' weakness and dependence on Pulcheria, Eudokia, and his advisors, see esp. HOLM (1982); cf. also BLOCKLEY (1998), p. 134.

84 Cf. LEE (2000), pp. 34–37 and ILSKI (1992), where an analysis of the religious policy of this ruler leads the authors to the conclusion that he had a clear vision of how the Church should be organized and of Church-state relations, which he consistently sought to implement. He endeavoured to maintain Orthodoxy throughout his reign; in Christological controversies of the period, he supported the view of the majority due to its crucial role in establishing orthodoxy.

85 SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 22; the virtues of the ruler are also lauded by Sozomen: SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, Dedication. Apart from the features I have mentioned, the contemporary church historians would also attribute characteristics such as restraint, wisdom, persistence, and aversion to any brutality to him, cf. LEPPIN (1996), pp. 132–141, with a study of depictions of Theodosius II in the works of the contemporary church historians.

86 SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 22; Theodore takes a note of a curse by a certain monk, an event which made a great impression on the Emperor – THEODORET, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 37.

87 Cf. NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclidis*, II, I; *Vita Dalmatii* 8–15, and also LUIBHÉID (1965), pp. 19–20. A more detailed analysis of Dalmatios' intervention with Theodosius may be found in: DAGRON (1970), pp. 253, 266–270. According to the Syriac *Life of Simeon Stylites*, the impression made by the holy man's letter on the Emperor proved so strong that he revoked his previous law which was favourable to pagans and Jews, and removed Asclepiodotus (Asclepiades), the initiator of the law, from the office of Praetorian Prefect, cf. LIETZMANN (1908), ch. 130–131, pp. 174–175. The same *vita* recounts that an unnamed *comes Orientis* wanted to force some young men to render a cer-

Theodosius II appears as many as four times. At *VH* 11, which is concerned with John Chrysostom and a number of other figures, the author notes that many years after the bishop's exile, the Emperor Theodosius⁸⁸ ordered his relics to be transferred to Constantinople amid great ceremony. Hypatios is mentioned in connection with the Emperor only twice (passages at *VH* 32 and *VH* 37), and there is one other mention of the Emperor in the context of the *Rouphinianai monastery* (cf. *VH* 15). In the latter case, the Emperor⁸⁹ co-funds a sarcophagus, founded by Urbikios, for the interment of deceased monks. Theodosius is not in the foreground at all. The focus is on Urbikios, whereas the Emperor is only mentioned as the person who had contributed to the realization of the foundation under the auspices of the *praepositus sacri cubi-culi*. The presence of the Emperor at this point is more indicative of Kallinikos' wish to portray the events in detail, as well as of his intention to highlight the importance of the role played by Urbikios, rather than depicting the ruler in a favourable light.

Likewise, at *VH* 32, the Emperor is only a secondary figure who is mentioned in connection with Nestorius. The key message in the chapter is the greatness of Hypatios, who, at the time of Nestorius' elevation to Bishop of Constantinople, had seen a dream vision of his downfall. In turn, during the Council of Ephesus (431), Hypatios had a vision of an angel bringing St John the Apostle before the Emperor to urge the latter to pronounce his verdict against Nestorius.⁹⁰ The passage does not refer to any direct encounter between Hypatios and the ruler, as the holy man is not the one to bring the message from God to the Emperor, his role being only that of a passive observer (unlike that of Dalmatios, who had himself gone to meet the Emperor in order to persuade him to depose Nestorius).

Finally, at *VH* 37, there is an account of a direct encounter between Hypatios and the Emperor. Kallinikos recounts that Theodosius twice visited the saint and greeted him warmly. Moreover, the Emperor was to send letters to Hypatios on many occasions.⁹¹ The information appears credible; the account was written during the Emperor's lifetime, and the author's mention of Theodosius visiting Hypatios only twice (instead of some indefinite expression, such as "many times" or "often") adds to the plausibility. The meetings were requested by the Emperor, the holy man having re-

tain service at the Senate. They turned to Simeon for help; the holy man's influence on Theodosius led to the deposition of the *comes* and the confiscation of his property, cf. LIETZMANN (1908), ch. 95, pp. 137–139. Other sources say that Theodosius asked Simeon to pray for peace in the Church and for success of the synod held at Antioch in 432, cf. ACO, I, I, pp. 5–6.

⁸⁸ *VH* 11, 7: ...ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος...

⁸⁹ *VH* 15, 9: ...καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως...

⁹⁰ *VH* 32, 17b-18: ...ἄγγελος Κυρίου κρατήσας τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπόστολον ἀπήγαγεν πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα λέγων· "Εἶπε τῷ βασιλεῖ· 'Δὸς ἀπόφασιν Νεστορίῳ.'" Κάκεϊνος ἀκούσας ἔδωκεν.

⁹¹ *VH* 37, 1–2: Ὁ δὲ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος δεῦτερον θεασάμενος αὐτὸν περιεπλάκη ἀπαχζόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων· "Καθὼς ἤκουσα οὕτως καὶ εἶδον." Πυκνότερον δὲ ἔγραφεν ὡς πατρὶ καὶ παρεκάλει τοῦ ἀντιγράφειν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀντέγραφεν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην ὡς χριστιανῶ· "Δώη σοι Κύριος ἐντελεῖα καρδίᾳ ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ."

quested neither conversation nor meeting with the ruler. It was thus Theodosius who would call on Hypatios at his monastery. Considering the fact that the ruler held monks in much regard, and visited Dalmatios on various occasions, it should come as no surprise that he also wished to meet Hypatios in person.⁹² On the other hand, Hypatios made no special effort to maintain contact with the Emperor, as Theodosius was the one who insisted on receiving answers to his letters. The account confirms the ideal of the relation presented at *VH* 24: the Emperor wishing to communicate with Hypatios, with the latter showing no initiative in order to maintain contact. Nonetheless, it is surprising that the Emperor, who would attach so much significance to communication with renowned monks, visited the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* only twice during the several decades of reign, especially as one of his palaces was so close to the monastery.⁹³ The passage suggests Kallinikos had done his best to gather information on relations between Hypatios and the Emperor, though the effort produced just one brief mention.

The passage *VH* 37, 2, which refers to correspondence between the Emperor and the holy man, the former writing letters “as to a father” (ὡς πατρί) and urging Hypatios to reply, is very similar to the relationship set out at *VA* 81, where Constantine and his sons Constantius and Constans would write to Antony “as to a father” and insist on his response. The similarity is so conspicuous that there cannot be any coincidence here. Most likely, Kallinikos would have drawn on a very similar fragment from Athanasius’ work.⁹⁴ The hagiographer’s intention was to draw a comparison between Hypatios and Antony; both the great Egyptian hermit and the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* having received correspondence from the Emperor. However, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the information on the Emperor’s two visits to the *Rouphinianai*. Therefore, Hypatios’ contact with the ruler was a fairly tenuous one. The holy man is portrayed as an ascetic who would not have had much interest in maintaining relations with the Emperor, and Kallinikos is not concerned with the latter any more than he believes necessary for his work dedicated to the life, acts, and teachings of the first hegumen of the *Rouphinianai*.⁹⁵

⁹² On Theodosius II’s special regard for monks, cf. also THEODORET, *HR* XVII, 9, where upon hearing of the renowned holy man Abraham, the Emperor summoned him to the court and said that the ascetic hermit’s poor clothing was more precious than his Imperial purple.

⁹³ After Rouphinos’ fall, his property was first taken over by Eutropius, who would be deposed in turn and his property confiscated as well. The villa of Rouphinos had probably been used by the Imperial family, which *VH* 37, 3 seems to confirm; cf. also PARGOIRE (1899b), p. 458. Rouphinos’ villa was reportedly used by Pulcheria as her residence on a regular basis, cf. HOLUM (1982), p. 131.

⁹⁴ This passage is not copied verbatim; *VA* 81 is much longer than the sentence written down by Kallinikos, the important thing being the gist of the event in question.

⁹⁵ Kallinikos is not much different in this regard from other authors of hagiographical works in that period (cf. the previously mentioned passages from the *VA* and *HR*). An exception is the account from the *Life of St Martin of Tours*, where Martin is not only present at the court of the usurper Magnus Maximus, but also takes part in a feast with him and his family, SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Vita S. Martini* 20.

Kallinikos refers to Theodosius II consistently as εὐσεβέστατος (VH 11, 7; 15, 9; 32, 17; 37, 1). As he also uses the same title in reference to Arcadius, it could be said that the hagiographer always describes the emperors using this term.⁹⁶ The work had been composed prior to Theodosius' death in 450, which must have played a role in forming his image in the VH.

At VH 37, the author turns his attention to the Emperor's three sisters, who successfully tried to obtain Hypatios' blessing.⁹⁷ Those three sisters must have been Pulcheria,⁹⁸ Arcadia,⁹⁹ and Marina.¹⁰⁰ Like their brother, they held monks in high regard, as attested by the aforementioned chapter from Theodoret's work: summoned to the court, Abraham had his hands and knees embraced by the Emperor's sisters as they told him their requests.¹⁰¹

The pattern in the passage referring to the sisters is similar to the one related to the Emperor: it is the sisters who request a meeting with the holy man and ask for his blessing. However, unlike the Emperor, who would have gone to the *Rouphinianai himself*, the text says clearly that Hypatios visited the palace¹⁰² to speak to them with his teachings, pray for them, and give them his blessing. Most likely, Hypatios'

⁹⁶ The term εὐσεβέστατος was commonly used as an Imperial title, cf. LAMPE (1961), pp. 575–576.

⁹⁷ VH 37, 3–4: Αἱ δὲ τρεῖς βασίλισσαι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ποθήσασαι ἰδεῖν τὸν Ὑπάτιον ἔρχονται πλησίον τοῦ ἀποστολείου εἰς τὸ παλάτιον καὶ δηλοῦσιν αὐτῷ· “Ἐλθὲ ἵνα σε ἴδωμεν, ἢ ἐρχόμεθα ἡμεῖς πρὸς σέ, ἵνα εὐλογηθῶμεν.” Ὁ δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπῶσιν ἀπῆλθεν, καὶ ὠφελήσας αὐτὰς διὰ τῆς νοουθεσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐχὴν ποιήσας εὐλόγησεν αὐτὰς καὶ ἀνέχωρησεν.

⁹⁸ Aelia Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius and Aelia Eudoxia, sister of Theodosius II. She was born on January 19, 399 (d. July 453). She received a good education and played an important role in the upbringing of Theodosius II, as well as in the political decision-making at the court. She was proclaimed *Augusta* in 414. Pulcheria had taken vows of chastity and lived a very pious life. Following the death of her brother, she supported Marcian in his struggle for the throne and formally married him. She had also played a significant role during the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies, cf. PLRE, pp. 929–930; HOLUM (1982), esp. pp. 79–111; LIMBERIS (1994), pp. 47–61 and ANGELIDI (1998).

⁹⁹ Arcadia, daughter of Arcadius and Aelia Eudoxia, sister of Theodosius II. She was born in 400 (d. 444). Like her sister Pulcheria, she had chosen to live in chastity, cf. PLRE, p. 129; HOLUM (1982).

¹⁰⁰ Marina, daughter of Arcadius and Aelia Eudoxia, sister of Theodosius II. She was born in 403 (d. August 3, 449). Like her sister Pulcheria, she had chosen to live in chastity, cf. PLRE, p. 723; HOLUM (1982). The event related by Kallinikos must have taken place before 444, when her sister Arcadia died. Theodosius' sisters, especially Pulcheria, were well known for their very ardent piety. Their important position at the court is evident in view of the fact that during the Nestorian controversy Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, had written three long letters in his defence, one of which was addressed to the Emperor, one to Arcadia and Marina, and one to Pulcheria and Eudoxia, the Emperor's wife. It proves that the sisters may have had some real influence on Theodosius, cf. HOLUM (1982), pp. 159–161. During the Nestorian dispute, Pulcheria was a staunch opponent of Nestorius, which may also have affected the Emperor's final position, cf. ILSKI (1992), p. 40. She is highly praised by SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.* IX, 1. 3.

¹⁰¹ THEODORET, *HR* XVII, 9, Theodoret stresses that Abraham could not speak Greek and so he would not understand the requests.

¹⁰² This is, of course, the nearby villa of Rouphinos.

personal visit with Theodosius' sisters would have been linked with the status of women in Late Antiquity; their weakness made it necessary to shelter them from contact with the outside world.¹⁰³

The Imperial family appears once again in the *VH*: Ch. 41 contains an account of Hypatios' support for Alexander, the leader of the *Akoimetoι*, as well as a depiction of the holy man's conflict with bishop Eulalios, which was triggered by those previous events.¹⁰⁴ Aggravation due to the controversy resulted in the *decanus* of the palace,¹⁰⁵ who had arrived on the Empress' orders,¹⁰⁶ intervening in defence of Hypatios and his fellow monks. The intervention was successful. The hagiographer does not specify whether the Empress in question was Pulcheria (*Augusta* since 414), or the wife of Theodosius, Eudokia (*Augusta* since 422).¹⁰⁷ In any case, the Empress took action to defend Hypatios, in spite of the fact that the holy man's opponent was the Bishop of Chalcedon. The Empress' protection can be seen further on in the same chapter: the monastery was guarded by the troops dispatched, as can be inferred from the context, by herself (*VH* 41, 18). This action confirms her respect for the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai*, which is also in agreement with the Emperor's attitude towards the ascetic represented in the *Life of Hypatios* and described previously.

2.1.2. Relations with Officials and the Aristocracy

Hypatios' encounters with Imperial officials were much more frequent than those with the Emperor. The *VH* mentions a number of individuals either associated with the authorities or recognizable as representatives of the highest ranks of society. Kallinikos provides many accounts of such relations, and they are richer, in fact and detail, than the brief note referring to the Imperial family.

The *VH* features the following persons acting as representatives of the ruling elite or directly associated with it: Urbikios, the above-mentioned *praepositus sacri cubiculi*;¹⁰⁸ Euphemia – *cubicularia*;¹⁰⁹ Zoanes – *comes*, probably *rei militaris*;¹¹⁰ Elpi-

103 On this fragment, cf. also HOLUM (1982), pp. 134 – 135. On the role and the status of women in Late Antiquity, cf. BEAUCAMP (1990 – 1992).

104 On these events, see an analysis in the section on the clergy.

105 *Decanus* – since the 4th century, the term would have been reserved for a palace messenger, esp. in the Empress' service. They would also serve as gate-keepers, cf. GUILLAND (1967), vol. 2, pp. 89 – 92; KAZHDAN, CUTLER (1991), p. 601.

106 *VH* 41, 13 – 14: Ὡς δὲ ἐτοιμάσθησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος κᾶν βιβλίον ἄραι εὐλογίαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἰδοὺ δεκανὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἔφιππος, ὃς μαθὼν τὰ γινόμενα εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ λέγει· “Δότε νοτάριον καὶ χάρτην, δότε ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα· ἡ βασίλισσα ἀπέστειλε μαθεῖν, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ διώκοντες τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ.” Of course, in this case as well, the “palace” refers to the villa of Rouphinos.

107 It has been accepted in the historiography that the said *Augusta* was Pulcheria, cf., e.g., HOLUM (1982), pp. 135 – 136; WÖLFLE (1986b), pp. 306 – 307.

108 *VH* 12, 4 – 13 and *VH* 15.

dios – *comes* and Imperial architect;¹¹¹ Monaxios – former consul;¹¹² Antiochos, a favourite of the aristocracy¹¹³ and Leontios – *praefectus urbis Constantinopoleos*.¹¹⁴ In addition, there are people who are not identified by name, such as: notables at VH 39, 2 (described as ἀξιωματικοί) and VH 41, 2 (here called ἄρχοντες), as well as *scholastici*, who are referred to in several places (VH 34, 2; 35; 38, 1–5).¹¹⁵ Other prominent figures mentioned in the work are the Praetorian Prefect Rouphinos¹¹⁶ and Dionysios, *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem* (the latter in the context of a situation completely unrelated to Hypatios or the *Rouphinianai*; for that reason, he will not be discussed here).¹¹⁷

As with the Imperial family, in all the passages of the VH where the relations between Hypatios and representatives of the authority are depicted the initiative always from the other party, not the holy man. There are two kinds of reasons for initiating such relations: the persons connected with the authority come to the holy man to ask for the healing of their family members and friends, or, alternatively, for the healing of themselves. Thus, the first group comprises Urbikios, who, after he had heard Hypatios preaching and befriended him, brought Aetios and Alkimos to him, asking the ascetic to heal them.¹¹⁸ Likewise, Zoanes brought his ill brother to the *Rouphinianai* and asked Hypatios to heal him.¹¹⁹ At VH 38, 1–5, two *scholastici* send messengers to Hypatios, asking the holy man for his *eulogium*¹²⁰ for a slave with an injured eye. The second group would comprise Euphemia and Elpidios;¹²¹ whereas the entire Ch. 35 contains an account of the conversion of three *scholastici* by Hypatios. I have includ-

109 VH 44, 1–7.

110 VH 22, 15–20.

111 VH 44, 8–19.

112 VH 21.

113 VH 44, 20: "Ἄλλος τις τοῦνομα Ἀντίοχος, ἀγαπώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων,...

114 VH 33, 1–11.

115 *Scholastici* are also mentioned at VH 29, 3, but this time Kallinikos uses this term to refer to well-educated people, not necessarily in association with any specific office.

116 VH 6, 4–5; 8, 45 and 11, 3.

117 Kallinikos states that Dionysius escorted Nestorius to the capital after his being elevated to Bishop of Constantinople – VH 32, 1. Fl. Dionysius was *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem* in the years 428–431 as well as *magister utriusque militiae*, most probably *vacans*, in 434–435/440, and also the consul in 429. He was born in Thrace. During his tenure as *magister utriusque militiae*, he was sent as an envoy to Persia. He was a Christian, edified in his faith by the teachings of Simeon the Stylite, who healed him from an ailment. During the Council of Ephesus in 431, he interfered in the affairs of the Church in Cyprus, cf. PLRE, pp. 363–364.

118 Respectively, VH 12, 4 and VH 15, 1.

119 VH 22, 15.

120 The eulogies, to which Kallinikos refers in his work, are pieces of blessed, but unconsecrated, bread. On this question, cf. LECLERCQ (1922), cols. 733–734; STUIBNER (1966), cols. 900–928 and PISARZAK (1985), cols. 1302–1303.

121 Respectively, VH 44, 1 and VH 44, 8.

ed this story in the second group; a request for the healing (here: of the soul, not the body) is present here as well.

There are a number of cases that should be accorded a separate category: at *VH* 34, 2, a certain *scholasticus* bequeathed his property to Hypatios. In another instance, some notables come to ask for advice, or, strictly speaking, a prophecy on Nestorius.¹²² There are also some controversial situations: a conflict with Leontios concerning the games that the latter wanted to restore at Chalcedon, and the controversy over Hypatios' alignment with Alexander, who had run afoul with Constantinople's power elite.¹²³ These accounts pose certain difficulties owing to the fact that they do not offer any depiction of the direct contact between Hypatios and the other party. In the case of the games, Hypatios was involved in a dispute with his bishop rather than with the prefect, who only heard the news of commotion between the monks. There was no direct conflict between these two figures, Hypatios and Leontios. The other case I have mentioned is similar: the warm reception of the *Akoi-metoi* at the *Rouphinianai* was not meant to be against the power elite, as it may have served that purpose only indirectly.

Finally, let us turn our attention to one very specific case, namely the account at *VH* 21 concerning Monaxios' slaves. This should be discussed as a separate problem, as it deals with an actual conflict between a representative of authority and Hypatios, a direct relation being established between these two figures.

As can be seen, the form of contact between Hypatios and the authority figures is not one that would have resulted from an ordinary official – supplicant relationship, nor, with the exception of the Chalcedon games controversy, from these figures' duties. There does not seem to be any official character to these relations. Rather they resulted from Hypatios' own holiness, which, as the other party hoped, would heal them or their family and friends. Likewise, the *VH* offers no evidence of any accidental contact between holy man and officials, other than on the clear initiative of the latter. The individuals who came to meet Hypatios would have heard of him in advance, were aware of who they were going to see, and would have had their own very specific expectations. There is no question of any coincidence, nor of accidental encounters or visits to Hypatios at the *Rouphinianai*.

The entire range of Hypatios' relations with the world of authority figures may be divided into the following three groups: controversial situations, those where the attitude of a representative of authority towards Hypatios would initially be negative; situations where the attitude to the holy man was positive from the beginning; and certain in-between situations.

¹²² *VH* 39, 2 – notables, clerics, and ascetics came to Hypatios, asking if Nestorius' return from his exile to Constantinople would be possible.

¹²³ Respectively, *VH* 33 and *VH* 41.

2.1.2.1. Controversial Situations

Ex-Consul Monaxios

The *VH* gives us very few instances of situations that were characterised by controversy from the outset of relations. As a matter of fact, there are only three: the aforementioned events related to the games at Chalcedon, the controversy over the *Akoi-metoi*, and the dispute with Monaxios over fugitive slaves. The most interesting of the three is the direct conflict between Hypatios and Monaxios, which is described in a fair amount of detail.

Monaxios was a very influential and prominent figure. He served as prefect *urbis Constantinopoleos* in the years 408–409. Subsequently, he served twice as prefect *praetorio Orientis*, in 414 and 416–420, and held a consulship in 419.¹²⁴ Since Kallinikos refers to him at the beginning of *VH* 21 as a “former consul,”¹²⁵ the events in question must have taken place after 419. That was the period when Hypatios’ position as the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* would already have been firmly established.

VH 21 tells about an escape of four slaves owned by Monaxios, who were admitted at the *Rouphinianai* not as fugitives coming in hope of finding some asylum, but as fellow monks (*VH* 21, 1). The owner set out on a search to capture the fugitives. One was even a relative of his (*VH* 21, 2).¹²⁶ One of the slaves, named Paul, was caught and subjected to torture in order to reveal the whereabouts of his companions (*VH* 21, 3). Paul escaped and reached the *Rouphinianai*, as Monaxios would not have known that his slaves found refuge there (*VH* 21, 4–5). However, Monaxios did discover their asylum and dispatched a messenger to Hypatios, calling on the holy man to return the slaves to their owner (*VH* 21, 6).

At this particular point, the relation between Monaxios and Hypatios would not seem antagonistic yet. Only Hypatios’ reply, an evasive refusal to comply with the owner’s request and arguing that they were in fact subordinate to God, not to him, the hegumen, aggravated the situation. Very evidently, Monaxios’ appeal was treated as groundless (*VH* 21, 7).¹²⁷ The holy man shifted the whole problem from the level of a legal issue to a metaphysical or divine one, where human laws would not matter. This was necessary as, from a legal point of view, the problem could not be resolved in favour of Hypatios. Admitting fugitive slaves to monasteries

¹²⁴ On Monaxios, cf. DAGRON (1974), pp. 264–266 and PLRE, pp. 764–765.

¹²⁵ *VH* 21, 1: ...Μοναξίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων... On the office of ex-consul, cf. COURTOIS (1949), pp. 37–58.

¹²⁶ Kallinikos uses the following phrase: ...εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ ἦν..., Bartelink assumes, following the Bonn edition and Festugière, that the man may have been a son of Monaxios and a slave woman, or of one of his relatives and a slave, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 34, n. 45, and *VH*, p. 136, n. 3.

¹²⁷ It is worth quoting here Hypatios’ words in order to show his view of the whole issue: *VH* 21, 7: “Ὁ δὲ λέγει τοῖς παρούσιν· Ἀπελθόντες εἶπατε αὐτῷ οὕτως· Ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπαίρω ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σοὶ διδῶ· εἰ δὲ τολμᾷς αὐτοὺς ἐπαραι, αὐτὸς ἐλθὲ καὶ ἔπαρον· αὐτοὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν κατέφυγον.”

was not allowed in Pachomian communities.¹²⁸ In reality, however, the official regulation restricting admission of slaves to monastic communities would seem to materialize only in connection with the Council of Chalcedon in 451.¹²⁹ In consequence, the canon would have come after the case in question.¹³⁰ The problem was further complicated because one of the fugitives (notably, a relative of Monaxios) had been ordained a priest (VH 21, 2), which was explicitly forbidden by both ecclesiastical and state regulations.¹³¹ As a result, Hypatios had broken the law in this regard (or might it have been the bishop who consecrated such a candidate?), at least if he knew that the people he admitted to the monastery were slaves. Though this is not stated explicitly anywhere in the text, the context is quite clear.

Even though he may have broken the law, Hypatios did not place himself above it. He did not forbid Monaxios or his servants from coming to the monastery and taking the slaves with them. He did not, it would appear, defend the sanctity of the place or called Monaxios' demand unlawful. He acknowledged these were legitimate on legal grounds, even though in his view the purely juridical approach was just insufficient.¹³² This is reminiscent of the scene from VH 3, where the Emperor relieved Jonas of his service, considering the prospective hermit's pious intentions to be superior to other reasoning. In effect, Kallinikos' approach to the problem could be reduced to the following: the *sacrum* over *profanum* – Divine order over human laws.

In response to Hypatios' words, Monaxios dispatched messengers to summon the hegumen to his residence (VH 21, 8). Despite warnings, the holy man went to meet him (VH21, 9). During their encounter, Monaxios reiterated that his slaves should be returned to him, while Hypatios restated his previous position (VH 21, 11–13). As might have been expected, the holy man's statement ultimately led Monaxios to concur with Hypatios' view; he also asked Hypatios for a blessing (VH 21, 14–16). That was the end of the whole conflict.

In consideration of the second part of this account, let us take a closer look at Monaxios' conduct in the matter. Significantly, it may seem surprising that he would not have decided to use his full authority in order to reclaim (evidently, without any resistance on Hypatios' part) his slaves from the monastery or enforce the execution of his ownership rights. Besides, this legal path would also seem to have been fairly tenuous and uncertain, considering the words of those who warned

128 *PL, Praecepta* 49.

129 At the Emperor's request, the Council prohibited slaves from entering monasteries without consent of their owners, cf. canon 4: ACO, II, I, p. 355.

130 The Imperial authority would rarely have acted to restrict admission of slaves to monasteries, cf. JONES (1986), p. 931.

131 Cf. JONES (1986), pp. 920–921, from the perspective of state regulations, the Emperor Arcadius had prohibited the consecration of slaves in 398 – *Cod. Theod.* IX, 45, 3. On the status of slaves in the ancient Church, see KLEIN (2000), pp. 379–383; cf. also PRZECZKOCH (1996), pp. 241–247, esp. 244–245.

132 On the right of asylum, to which slaves were entitled, see MOSSAKOWSKI (2000), pp. 65–73.

Hypatios against visiting Monaxios. They said that Monaxios could imprison the holy man to follow through on his claims.¹³³ If the law was on his side, why would he determine upon such a course of action? Only if Hypatios' wish to offer no resistance to the owner's possible recovery of his slaves was not immediately obvious, or if the law was not effective with respect to Hypatios. In the latter case, this may have reflected actual relations between secular authority and the holy man.

Let us not underestimate, however, the good will shown by Monaxios, who may have wished to reach some amicable settlement during a personal meeting with Hypatios, as, according to the hagiographer, the official turned out to have been guided by the motivation higher than the human order. The course of the holy man's visit would seem to confirm this assumption. Monaxios did not put any pressure on him; no threats were made, except for attempts, during their long conversation,¹³⁴ to persuade Hypatios to accept his position. Kallinikos states reasons for such a conciliatory attitude: in his dream, Monaxios saw Hypatios praying at his place (VH 21, 11). This particular reason as well as his final request for a blessing point to significant aspects of Monaxios' personality: he is a Christian, and a very pious one. In my opinion, he could have used his authority to recover his slaves, yet he did not wish to use force, because he perceived any interference in the matters of the monastery as unacceptable. Still, given his skill in rhetoric,¹³⁵ he hoped to persuade Hypatios.

Nonetheless, things turned out differently: even the Praetorian Prefect's rhetorical skill did not matter in the face of the fundamental fact brought up by Hypatios: the human perspective cannot be used to take a decision in areas that belongs to the domain of the Divine. This argument persuaded Monaxios, who, even though this is not said explicitly,¹³⁶ eventually agreed with the holy man and relinquished his rights. The hagiographer shows a certain measure of respect for Monaxios, adding that he was an educated man and served as prefect three times.¹³⁷

To sum up, Kallinikos describes a situation where Monaxios could have used his influence, yet he chose to resolve the conflict amicably. He did not wish to use force, bring a legal action, or encroach on the grounds of the monastery. Monaxios' piety, not the inability to enforce the execution of his rights, would prove to be a crucial

133 VH 21, 9: Μὴ ἀπῆλθης, ὅπως μὴ σε εἰς φρουρὰν ἐμβάλων ἀπαιτήσῃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. The hagiographer depicts the people concerned for Hypatios' safety as thinking in secular terms, whereas Hypatios represented the Divine, not worldly, order. The scene also serves to emphasize the protagonist's courage.

134 VH 21, 11: ...πολλὰ λέγειν...

135 Cf. VH 21, 11.

136 Kallinikos reports that Monaxios was extremely surprised by Hypatios' response and admired the holy man (VH 21, 14). It is worth noting that the hegumen's position had already been communicated to the prefect by messengers (VH 21, 7–8). Possibly, it was Hypatios' charisma rather than his words that would have made Monaxios change his decision.

137 VH 21, 11: ...ὡς πεπαιδευμένος καὶ τρίς ἑπαρχος γενόμενος... A situation similar to the story of Monaxios' slaves can be found in the account on *abba* Apollo in the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* VIII, 35.10.

aspect in this case. He resigned his secular authority over Hypatios of his own free will. The holy man, for his part, had no intention to resist the law by force; he would even concede his opponent was right, but solely in human terms.¹³⁸ He also complied with Monaxios' request and went to meet him at his residence. The whole conflict was not so much a dispute between the holy man and a representative of the secular authority as a clash between the sacred and the profane, the holy and the secular. It would inevitably end in a victory of the *sacrum*, to which the *profanum* had to submit. Hypatios was a representative, an advocate of the sacred in the face of the secular authority, but he was not a party to that controversy to a full extent. On the other hand, Monaxios could not be a generic representative of the profane, since being a pious Christian made him accept the superiority of the holy over the secular. The position of Hypatios, a representative of the *sacrum*, was unique in that he was endowed with a certain kind of authority, i.e., spiritual authority. This story is not just an account of a certain historical event. Divine intervention is what makes it an model for Christians. The hagiographer communicates a vision where an authority figure ought to concur with the holy man's opinion; at the same time, the holy man ought to avoid contentious situations or, should they arise, he must make an attempt to settle them peacefully.

Leontios

In the other two situations, one cannot really speak of any direct conflict between Hypatios and representatives of authority.

The *VH* recounts that Leontios, *praefectus urbis Constantinopoleos*,¹³⁹ made an attempt to organize Olympic games at the amphitheatre of Chalcedon (*VH* 33, 1).¹⁴⁰ Considering the years of his tenure, it is possible to determine that Leontios' initiative would have taken place in 434–435.¹⁴¹ By that time, Hypatios' influence (in particular, following the Nestorian controversy) would have grown indeed.

138 Cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 125, where the holy man would not oppose the imprisonment of a man named George of Cappadocia, who was accused of instigating a revolt against Phocas, even though he may have been innocent. When George, escorted by soldiers on the route to Constantinople, stopped by at the monastery, the holy man ordered that his shackles be taken off but only for as long as he was present on the grounds of the monastery.

139 Since 359, Constantinople had been excluded, like Rome, from the regular system of provincial governance. In his official capacity, the Prefect *urbis Constantinopoleos* was in charge of grain supply, aqueducts, policing, and other departments of municipal administration. Although Chalcedon was situated across the Bosphorus, Leontios' sphere of influence would not have been limited to the capital city alone, cf. JONES (1986), p. 375 and DAGRON (1974), pp. 226–239.

140 It is known that the Olympic games were also organized at Daphne ca. 500, as well as at Ephesus in the 4th century. The tradition would be eventually discontinued after 520, cf. TROMBLEY (1994), p. 84, n. 50. At Antioch, the Olympic games were held under Theodosius II, cf. DOWNEY (1961), pp. 455–456 and MILLON, SCHOULER (1988), s. 61–76.

141 For the years of Leontios' tenure, see DAGRON (1974), p. 268 and PLRE, p. 669.

Hypatios' reaction to Leontios' plans was swift and dramatic.¹⁴² Accompanied by a group of twenty monks, he proceeded to meet with Bishop Eulalios of Chalcedon and demanded his intervention in order to stop the event (VH 33, 2–5). In view of the bishop's reluctant attitude towards Hypatios and his demands, the holy man threatened to resort to violence, should the games be organized (VH 33, 6–8). Leontios was told of the possibility of imminent riots instigated by the monks and returned to Constantinople on the pretext of being ill (VH 33, 11). As a result, his attempt to restore the Olympic games at Chalcedon failed (VH 33, 12).

The hagiographer makes no reference to any direct encounter between Hypatios and the prefect, even though the context would imply that the latter should have been present at Chalcedon at the time. Instead of making a personal intervention with Leontios, the holy man visited the bishop in order to prevent the games from taking place. Very likely, the move was dictated by the fact that Eulalios was the head of the Church at Chalcedon and it would not have been fitting to ignore him. This would constitute an example of a legalistic approach on Hypatios' part. It is worth noting that he regarded violent methods as the last resort, and would not reject them altogether. Unfortunately, the bishop's attitude towards the holy man was not very positive and the account goes on to describe a dispute between Eulalios and the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* (VH 33, 5–10), which I shall deal with in more detail further on. In any event, Leontios, as a person who would not take any position on Hypatios' demands (he did not oppose them, yet, at the same time, it is not said whether he agreed either), retreats into the background, where, in fact, he would have been from the beginning. In my opinion, the question of the Olympic games serves as a pretext for the hagiographer's depiction of Hypatios' zeal in eradicating the relics of pagan customs (Hypatios' primary motivation for taking action was his wish to prevent the reinstitution of the ancient tradition that amounted to idolatry) and his readiness to become a martyr,¹⁴³ as well as to showcase the disparity between the holy man and bishop Eulalios, the latter proving less ardent than the hegumen. As in the case of Monaxios' slaves, this was a conflict between Hypatios and pagan "superstitions" rather than a confrontation between the hegumen and an authority figure.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² The games were seen by Christians, particularly monks, as idolatry and, for that reason, they would often actively oppose them, cf. LIM (1997), pp. 159–180 and JIMÉNEZ SÁNCHEZ (2013), pp. 42–44.

¹⁴³ According to the hagiographer, Hypatios realized that his action against the prefect could have entailed very serious consequences; cf. VH 33, 8: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν σοὶ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι, ἐγὼ βλέπω τὸν δεσπότην ἀτιμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα ἐπιχειρούντων καὶ τὸν χριστιανὸν λαὸν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἀπερχόμενον καὶ εἰδωλολατροῦντα ἦλθον δια μαρτύρασθαι τὴν ἀγιωσύνην σου, ὅτι αὐρίον προκαθίσαντος τοῦ ὑπάρχου εἰσελθεῖν ἔχω μετὰ πλήθους μοναχῶν καὶ ἄνωθεν κατασῦραι τὸν ὑπαρχον καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἢ ἐμοῦ ζώντος τοῦτο συγχωρήσω γενέσθαι.

¹⁴⁴ On Hypatios' zeal in eradicating pagan practices, cf. CHUVIN (1991), pp. 85–86 and TROMBLEY (1994), pp. 76–96 (unfortunately, there are numerous inaccuracies in this work). Hagiographical

In his depiction of Leontios' reaction, the hagiographer makes it clear that the prefect changed his mind as a result of the hegumen's intervention. He resigned his idea of holding the Olympic games because of Hypatios' action and the rumours of potential disturbances. Kallinikos' depiction of the prefect is not downright negative, as the latter did not show hostility to Hypatios and never attempted to resist him by force. In the years to come, Leontios would become the founder of a shrine dedicated to St Demetrius at Thessalonica,¹⁴⁵ proving (like Monaxios) that he was a pious Christian. The author does not say, however, whether Leontios would in the end have agreed with Hypatios' arguments. He does not in any case seem to be concerned with this particular question. As a matter of fact, he notes that Leontios left Chalcedon, feigning an illness, thus painting a somewhat less favourable picture of the prefect and implying his cowardice or, more likely, his wish to avoid imminent public disturbance.

Thus Kallinikos intimates that the secular authority must always yield before the holy man's action. At the same time, the hagiographer is aware that the crucial point in the matter was not the holy man's personal authority, but his role as leader of the monks, who were threatening to disturb the public order. The figure of Leontios is only of secondary importance in the whole story, and its overriding purpose is to represent Hypatios as a fervent opponent of paganism and a spiritual teacher to the bishop.

Prominent Figures of Constantinople

A somewhat similar situation can be found in the previously mentioned *VH* 41. It portrays a conflict between Alexander and prominent figures (ἄρχοντες) of Constantinople (*VH* 41, 2–3). The opponents of Alexander were also supported by Bishop Eulalios of Chalcedon (*VH* 41, 5), and Hypatios provided hospitality to the *Akoimetoι* expelled from the capital (*VH* 41, 6–7). As at *VH* 33 (referring to later events¹⁴⁶), the controversy took place between the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* and the Bishop of Chalcedon. In this case, there is no mention of any conflict between the authorities and Hypatios, even though the holy man's standing up for the *Akoimetoι* might imply the actual presence of such a situation. Moreover, it is a figure of authority that would finally come to Hypatios' side, as the empress herself decided to aid the hegumen and Alexander's monks against the men in the bishop's service (*VH* 41, 13–

works devote much attention to taking action against idolatry, cf., e.g., MARK THE DEACON, *Vita Porphyrii*, which is dedicated almost completely to Porphyry's anti-pagan activity at Gaza.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. CHUVIN (1991), p. 85.

¹⁴⁶ The expulsion of the *Akoimetoι* from Constantinople took place in the late 420s, whereas the above-mentioned controversy over the Chalcedon games occurred in the years 434–435.

18).¹⁴⁷ Paradoxically, the ascetic holy men were assisted here by a figure representing secular authority, in contrast to a representative of the Church, who would have shown a negative attitude.¹⁴⁸

2.1.2.2. Borderline Cases

There are a number of other relations between authority figures and Hypatios which were not mired in controversy, but gravitated towards confrontation. The initially positive relation would turn into negative. I have assigned two accounts in this group: the first one deals with the tension between Hypatios and Urbikios, in the aftermath of a financial issue,¹⁴⁹ whereas the other one is concerned with the holy man's change of attitude towards Elpidios, caused by the dishonest conduct of the latter.¹⁵⁰

Urbikios

Urbikios served as *praepositus sacri cubiculi* under seven emperors;¹⁵¹ he was also a man of great influence. Kallinikos notes that he was a devout Christian, who lived a very pious life after he had retired from office.¹⁵²

Let us now have a closer look at *VH* 12. It says that the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, whom Kallinikos describes as a “good Christian” (πᾶνυ χριστιανὸς) and “noble man”

147 It is difficult to determine on the basis of this account whether the empress' intervention was due to the danger Hypatios faced or the persecution of the *Akoimetoι*, to whom she had given much support, cf. WÖLFLE (1986b), pp. 306–307.

148 Cf. HOLUM (1982), p. 136, CANER (2002), pp. 126–127 and a more extensive analysis in WÖLFLE (1986b), pp. 302–309.

149 *VH* 12, 4–13.

150 *VH* 44, 8–19.

151 This information can be found in archdeacon Theodosius' work titled *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* 28, composed ca. 520–530. The successive emperors were: Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo, Leo II, Zeno, Basiliskos, and Anastasius. Urbikios must have probably served in his office intermittently. The *praepositus sacri cubiculi* was the highest-ranking eunuch in Imperial service. The office was established, in all probability, by Constantine the Great, although the earliest surviving mention of the *praepositus* comes from the reign of Constantius II. They would direct the tasks of *cubicularii* and their official capacity often enabled them to become very important players in the politics of the Empire, cf. GUILAND (1967), pp. 333–380; KAZHDAN (1991i), p. 1709 and SCHOLTEN (1995).

152 *VH* 15, 9. Urbikios' date of birth is unknown. The earliest mention can be found in Kallinikos' work; the related events described in the *Life of Hypatios* are datable to ca. 434. It would seem that he had been appointed *praepositus sacri cubiculi* on several occasions. He resurfaced in this official capacity at Edessa in April 449. Finally, he probably retired from his office ca. 504–505, because at the time he would have been travelling through the East, visiting Amida and Edessa (where he left generous donations), as well as near Jerusalem. For more details on Urbikios, see HONINGMANN (1949), pp. 47–50; HONINGMANN (1950), pp. 212–213; PLRE, pp. 1188–1190 and SCHOLTEN (1995), pp. 237–238.

(καλὸς), became a close friend of Hypatios after he had heard the holy man's teachings. When he found out that a certain man, named Aetios,¹⁵³ had been treated in a cruel manner by his brother, he took that man away and left him in Hypatios' care (VH 12, 4). The holy man prayed for him and showed much solicitude, as the man in question was insane (VH 12, 7). The grand chamberlain's servants, however, attempted to convince their superior that if Aetios died within the monastery, the community would be entitled to own the property of the latter (VH 12, 5). Urbikios believed them and burst "like a lion" (ὥς λέων) into the monastery to take the man away (VH 12, 6). Hypatios did not agree to return Aetios due to his poor health, yet at the same time the hegumen was willing to assure Urbikios, in writing, that nothing would be taken from the property of the infirm man¹⁵⁴ (VH 12, 8–9).

This particular account exemplifies how an initially positive, even (as Kallinikos calls it) friendly, relation between Urbikios and Hypatios would slowly turn contentious. The root of the controversy was a question of property, i.e., the inheritance of Aetios' property after his death. The chamberlain's dramatic reaction calls into question his true intentions in taking the insane man into the *Rouphinianai*. Even though Kallinikos suggests that Hypatios' teachings and his own great piety led Urbikios to take Aetios away from the latter man's abusive brother,¹⁵⁵ the course of the events suggests that the grand chamberlain had, from the very beginning, counted on coming into possession of Aetios' inheritance.¹⁵⁶ The friendly relations would be disrupted as soon as Hypatios had turned into a potential rival for the anticipated inheritance. Nonetheless, as in the case of Monaxios, Hypatios was not going to yield. He assertively declined to give Aetios back to Urbikios for as long as the unfortunate man remained ill, although he would not put up resistance if the grand chamberlain's servants dared to enter the monastery in order to take the insane man away by force.

Hypatios' refusal meant that Urbikios had to leave the monastery without achieving his aims, whereas Aetios would recover from his illness and live on at the monastery, where he passed away at some later time (VH 12, 10–11). Immediately afterwards, Hypatios notified Urbikios, who inherited the deceased man's property (VH 12, 12). Since Hypatios declined to accept a gift of gratitude from the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the latter donated some funds for a renovation of the *Rouphinianai* (VH 12, 12–13).

In a situation similar to the case of Monaxios, Urbikios would not have dared to infringe on the privileges of the monastery and to use force to take Aetios away from

¹⁵³ The figure not mentioned elsewhere, cf. PLRE, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴ VH 12, 9: ...εἰ δὲ φοβῆ διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐγγράφως ποιῶ μὴ λαβεῖν μέ τι ἐξ αὐτῆς.

¹⁵⁵ Immediately before the account of Aetios' case, Kallinikos provides a relevant fragment with Hypatios' teachings, which he links directly with the situation in question; cf. VH 12, 3.

¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to tell if Urbikios' intention to acquire the property was not greater than his compassion for the ill man, in view of the fact that he was ready to take Aetios away from the monastery despite the bad health condition of the latter.

Hypatios' custody. It is clear, however, that it was the inability to enforce his demands, rather than the holy man's words, that had made him withdraw from an attempt to bring the insane man back from the monastery.¹⁵⁷ In any event, the author offers no grounds for his claims concerning Aetios. The text does not imply that he had ever become the ill man's formally appointed guardian, while his actions in the matter appear to have been taken without recourse to legal procedures. Therefore, it is possible that Urbikios did not possess any legal instrument to take Aetios back. If so, the grand chamberlain would have had his hands tied, counting only on Hypatios' good will, which, as already noted, proved difficult. Still, Kallinikos' primary objective was not to present the case from the legal perspective, but rather to point to exemplary behaviour. The fact that the matter was resolved to the *praepositus*' satisfaction resulted from his acceptance of Hypatios' superior position in the case, which would ultimately lead to Urbikios' acquisition of Aetios' inheritance. As this satisfactory solution was facilitated by Hypatios' good will, the relations between the two improved to such a degree that the chamberlain funded the renovation of the *Rouphinianai*. The whole affair is represented as a clash between the secular and materialistic goals which would have guided Urbikios' conduct and Hypatios' solicitude for Aetios, motivated by moral considerations. Once again, it can be seen that Kallinikos depicts the holy man as unwilling to compromise with the secular aims of authority figures, whereas the grand chamberlain, in his ultimate act of subordination to Hypatios' will, would earn a positive opinion in spite of his previously wrong course. Furthermore, the hagiographer's attitude to Urbikios is very positive, as he calls him a noble man and a good Christian. Most likely, the fact that Urbikios would become a benefactor and restorer of the monastery is crucial for the generally favourable opinion of this figure.

Elpidios

A somewhat different story is the case of Elpidios at *VH* 44. He was a *comes*, an Imperial architect,¹⁵⁸ and was suffering terribly from some disease (*VH* 44, 8). He heard of Hypatios, went to see him, and the holy man said a prayer over him, bringing relief to his suffering (*VH* 44, 9–10). Elpidios' labourers also visited the monastery, however, and informed Hypatios of some wrongdoing he had done to others. Thus, the holy man communicated to Elpidios that it had been revealed to him that the Imperial architect would die in punishment for his deeds (*VH* 44, 13–15). Elpidios gave credence to Hypatios' words and wished to redress the injustice he had done. Elpidios' doctors on the other hand questioned the holy man's words and, eventually,

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *VH* 12, 10: 'Εκεῖνος δὲ ὡς ἀπορηθεὶς μετὰ λύπης ἀπῆει. As can be seen, Hypatios' assurances would not have satisfied Urbikios.

¹⁵⁸ This figure is unknown elsewhere, not mentioned in the PLRE. In Late Antiquity, architects were mostly very well educated and noted for their high social status, cf. JOHNSON, LOERKE, KAZHDAN (1991), p. 157.

the *comes* followed his doctors' advice (VH 44, 16–17). Unfortunately, Hypatios' prophecy turned out to be true and Elpidios died within three days (VH 44, 18–19).

In the above account, there is no mention of any conflict between Elpidios and Hypatios. The holy man only acted as a prophet, an instrument of God's justice. He would neither curse nor pass judgement on the *comes*. All he did was to communicate God's will. Consequently, this fragment of the VH cannot be compared with others outlining controversial situations. Hypatios stands apart from this affair, and the actual drama is between Elpidios and Divine justice. Hypatios was predicted the tragic fate of the *comes*, but also brought hope. A chance was offered to Elpidios to redress the wrongs he had done and to save his soul.¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, and unfortunately, Elpidios failed to trust Hypatios' words and missed his chance. Once again, Kallinikos communicates the idea that representatives of secular authority should obey the holy man's words. If they failed to do so, they would be punished.

2.1.2.3. Positive Relations

As depicted in the VH, most relations between Hypatios and authority figures were not confrontational. A majority were requests directed to Hypatios for healing diseases. VH 15 speaks of Urbikios' request to heal Alkimos, whereas VH 22 reports a similar request made by Zoanes for healing his brother Atelaas. In another case, two *scholastici* ask for their slave to be healed.¹⁶⁰ A man named Antiochos, harassed by an evil spirit, was also brought to the holy man.¹⁶¹ In turn, Euphemia¹⁶² and three other *scholastici*¹⁶³ come to Hypatios to seek their own healing.

The other two cases consist in a completely different kind of relation: at VH 34, 2, a certain *scholasticus* left a bequest of several gold coins and some clothes to Hypatios, while at the beginning of VH 39 some prominent figures came to the holy man to ask for counsel on Nestorius.¹⁶⁴

In all the cases depicting people of authority making requests for the healing of themselves or their loved ones, the treatment by Kallinikos is similar. The initiative came from a specific authority figure, and not from Hypatios. Those prominent individuals would come over to the *Rouphinianai* on their own or send messengers to the holy man. Among the many instances, it is worth noting Urbikios asking for Alkimos to be healed;¹⁶⁵ at VH 38, the *scholastici* sent messengers to Hypatios for his eulo-

159 VH 44, 15: "...ἄπελθε οὖν καὶ διάταξαι περὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου, καὶ εἴ τι ἡδίκησας, ἀπόδος, ἵνα ἄνειςιν λάβῃ ἡ ψυχὴ σου."

160 VH 38, 1–5.

161 VH 44, 20–23.

162 VH 44, 1–7.

163 VH 35, I also include in this category *scholastici* who solicit the healing of their souls.

164 VH 39, 1.

165 VH 15, 1.

gy;¹⁶⁶ likewise, Euphemia sent for the holy man, asking him to come and say a prayer over her.¹⁶⁷ In turn, Antiochos was brought over to Hypatios,¹⁶⁸ whereas the *scholastici* mentioned at VH 35 came over and asked him to baptize them.¹⁶⁹ Even an important figure such as Zoanes visited the *Rouphinianai*, taking his brother Atelaas along with him.¹⁷⁰

Another common aspect in all of the aforementioned cases is the fact that Hypatios never turned down requests for help, even in the case of Zoanes, where the form of solicitude was, in Hypatios' eyes, unacceptable.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the holy man's assistance was always restricted in so far as, Kallinikos makes it clear, it was God Himself, not Hypatios, who performed the miracle of healing. On his part, the hegumen would limit his intervention to prayer and anointing, or simply to providing care for the sick. Therefore, as one could see in the case of Elpidios, Hypatios' intervention would not always end in success; if the holy man's request for healing was not in agreement with God's will, it could not be fulfilled. However, this was evidently an exceptional situation.

Another important feature of these accounts is that the consequences of the holy man's interventions were not limited exclusively to the healing of the infirm person's body, but also had a direct impact on his or her faith (and the faith of those around them), and also contribute to Hypatios' own glorious fame. Thus, Urbikios and his attendants praised God and thanked Hypatios, and afterwards the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* dedicated himself to his own spiritual improvement.¹⁷² Zoanes praised God and expressed his esteem for Hypatios.¹⁷³ Likewise, the healing of a slave's eye (VH 38) resulted in giving praise to God,¹⁷⁴ whereas the baptism and teachings given to the *scholastici* (in one of the previous passages of the VH) led to their profound transformation.¹⁷⁵ Antiochos was healed after having stayed for one year with Hypatios, following which he accepted the orthodox faith and withdrew from the world, choosing to live in asceticism.¹⁷⁶ The only exception from this rule is the case of Eu-

166 VH 38, 4.

167 VH 44, 1.

168 VH 44, 21.

169 VH 35, 6.

170 VH 22, 15. As for the office held by Zoanes, it was, most probably, *comes rei militaris*, cf. PLRE, p. 1204. Although Trombley states that Zoanes was *magister militum*, he does not offer any evidence in support of this opinion, cf. TROMBLEY (1994), p. 90. On the rank of *comes*, see KAZHDAN (1991b), p. 484.

171 VH 22, 16–17 – Zoanes attempted to procure Hypatios' aid for himself, for which he was reprimanded by the holy man.

172 VH 15, 8–9.

173 VH 22, 18–19.

174 VH 38, 4.

175 VH 35, 10–13. 15. 17.

176 VH 44, 23. According to Trombley, Antiochos was probably a follower of Nestorius, cf. TROMBLEY, 1994, p. 92. Kallinikos uses the term θρησκεία, which denotes cult, religion, faith (either Jewish,

phemia, where Kallinikos notes that she had been healed thanks to Hypatios' prayers.¹⁷⁷

The other cases mentioned above are of a different nature. The notables (ἀξιωματικοί) at *VH* 39, 1, who came to Hypatios in order to ask him about the course of the Nestorian controversy, are depicted primarily to highlight the greatness of the holy man, who was the only person able to disperse their doubts. This meeting took place as a consequence of the previously mentioned prophetic visions of the future fate of Nestorius. Hypatios' firm stand throughout the Nestorian dispute, and the subsequent consolidation of his position owing, among other things, to his intervention in question of the Chalcedonian Olympic games, transformed Hypatios into a figure of moral authority in the eyes of Constantinople's power elite.

Other accounts touch on the question of Hypatios' attitude towards the well-off or the rich. These are figures of authority, even though they were not always portrayed as such. Some remarks may be necessary at this point. Kallinikos does not convey Hypatios' attitude towards the wealthy; he only notes that the holy man despised wealth as such,¹⁷⁸ but never those who possessed it. His contempt for material riches is indicative of his virtues, not of the vices of the wealthy. In the relevant passage, the hagiographer does not state any opinion on the man who made a bequest to Hypatios, as this is not Kallinikos' concern. What really matters is the holy man's approach to the property he inherited. Not much more can be found in another passage referring to a very rich man (πάνυ πλούσιος).¹⁷⁹ The man in question, whom Kallinikos describes as wise and God-loving,¹⁸⁰ wished to erect a chapel to house some relics of martyrs near the *Rouphinianai* and wanted Hypatios' disciples to serve as priests there. However, the holy man would not grant the request. This is yet another point in the *VH* intended to make clear that Hypatios was not guided by considerations of social stature, rank and wealth of any person. Significantly, it was not the material status but the personal godliness of a specific person that played a decisive role in Hypatios' attitude towards the wealthy, as can be seen in the case of the *scholastici* at *VH* 35.¹⁸¹

pagan, or Christian), although if used in regard to the Christian faith, the term would have applied to orthodoxy rather than heresy; in my opinion, it is very likely that Antiochos may have been converted from paganism; cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 654.

177 *VH* 44, 6. In Euphemia's case, however, there cannot be any doubt as to her response. According to Kallinikos, she was a good Christian (...ἦν πάνυ χριστιανή..., cf. *VH* 44, 2).

178 *VH* 34, 1.

179 *VH* 31, 13.

180 *VH* 31, 13: ...συνετῶν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀγαπώντων...

181 According to Kallinikos' account, the said *scholastici* were very rich. However, it was only when they became baptized and altered their world-view that their relation with Hypatios would become more cordial; cf. *VH* 35, 9 ff.

2.1.2.4. Jonas of Halmyrissos' Relations with the Power Elite of Constantinople; Rouphinos

In addition to Hypatios' relations with authority figures, the *VH* also provides some accounts referring to his mentor Jonas.¹⁸² Although Halmyrissos was situated far away from the capital, it is worth comparing how one and the same hagiographer depicts the relations between the two holy men and authority figures. This particular account of the relations is also significant in that Kallinikos, as he claims, was told of them by the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai*, who would have recalled his own time at the monastery of Jonas.¹⁸³

VH 6 reports that the barbarians (βάρβαροι) attacked Thrace several times, also besieging the monastery at Halmyrissos. The monastic complex would have withstood the siege thanks to its fortifications. Unfortunately, the local peasants were robbed of everything they had, and turned to Jonas for assistance in their distress (*VH* 6, 1–3).¹⁸⁴ The hegumen went to Constantinople¹⁸⁵ and met with some notables, described as *illustres* (ἰλλούστριοι),¹⁸⁶ informing them of the situation in Thrace and appealing for food supplies to be shipped to that province. Kallinikos notes that Jonas' message was expressed in the imperative: “send them the means of subsistence”¹⁸⁷ (*VH* 6, 4). Interestingly, the dignitaries' response (τῶν μεγάλων) was the following: having obeyed Jonas, “like their father,” they loaded ships with grain and vegetables, and sent them to the hegumen so that he could distribute the food among the poor. The hagiographer states that this was God's will (*VH* 6, 5).

As the above account makes it clear, Jonas was esteemed by the highest officials of the Empire. His direct approach and demand for aid to be sent to populations affected by barbarian raids was answered by the authorities, who reacted without anger and treated him with attention and respect. This is yet another instance of the ideal of the fatherly relations between officials and the holy man, the same as in the case of the Emperor Theodosius and Hypatios. Jonas would have been treated “like a father” by prominent figures; they would simply follow his orders. The story shows Jonas in the role of an ambassador from a disaster-afflicted region on a mission at the capital. There is no mention of any other officials or representatives of local communities attempting to obtain aid in Constantinople. Jonas acted as the

¹⁸² For the conversation between Jonas and the Emperor Arcadius (?), see above.

¹⁸³ *VH* 6, 1: [Hypatios] Διηγεῖτο δὲ ὅτι...

¹⁸⁴ Kallinikos recounts that the monks had an opening in the wall through which they hurled stones at the attackers and even managed to injure one of them, after which they mounted their horses and rode off, cf. *VH* 6, 2. The number of the assailants must have been fairly low.

¹⁸⁵ *VH* 6, 4: ...ἐν τῇ μεγαλοπόλει...

¹⁸⁶ *Illustis* was the highest-ranking senatorial title in the Later Roman Empire. Originally, it was awarded to the highest officials such as praetorian prefect, prefect of the City, *magister militum*, consul, and patrician. The title was not hereditary. It entailed certain privileges, both fiscal and ceremonial. The title continued to remain in use until the 7th century, cf. JONES (1986), pp. 528–536 and KAZHDAN (1991f), pp. 986–987.

¹⁸⁷ *VH* 6, 4: Ἀποστείλατε αὐτοῖς ἀναλώματα.

head of a local community, he assumed the role of representative, communicated with appropriate officials, and eventually received the necessary food aid in order to distribute it among the local population. As a matter of fact, he came to perform the function of a patron of a local community during a time of disaster.¹⁸⁸ His role as local ambassador would continue beyond this episode. The author states that whenever Jonas noticed the *illustres* had treated someone unjustly, he would step in, defend the victims of injustice, and at the same time exhort the *illustres* and show them the right course to be followed (VH 6, 7).

Despite his uncompromising attitude towards the highest-ranking authority figures, Jonas' popularity at the capital continued to grow. Whenever he came to Constantinople, all the wealthy men would ask him to pray at their homes and bless them (VH 6, 6). Moreover, those officials who followed his instructions would even begin to venerate him as a true servant of God (VH 6, 8). It appears that Jonas' attitude towards the prominent figures of Constantinople was viewed by Hypatios as a paragon for relations between the holy man and the authorities. Hypatios would try to imitate Jonas. As noted at VH 30, the holy man carried on his Christianization missions in Bithynia in the vein of Jonas', "who was his [spiritual] father,"¹⁸⁹ and who had undertaken such initiatives in Thrace (VH 30, 1–2). It seems plausible that he would also have imitated his mentor in relations with authority figures. Nonetheless, the modes of activity of Jonas and Hypatios were somewhat different. The hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* lacked the uncompromising attitude of his mentor. It is not hard to see that various situations and conditions resulted in the different roles performed by the two holy men.

The hagiographer names one of those who fulfilled the will of Jonas: Praetorian Prefect Rouphinos,¹⁹⁰ the then highest-ranking official in the Empire. The figure of Praetorian Prefect Rouphinos, the founder of the church and monastery at the location called "the Oak", appears in the VH on two other occasions. At VH 11, the monks of Hypatios moved into the buildings erected by Rouphinos (VH 11, 3); at VH 8, the hagiographer recounts the history of Hypatios' monastery and states that the buildings, as well as the shrine nearby, were built by Rouphinos, who received the relics of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (transferred from Rome). To house those relics, Rouphinos erected a *martyrion*, and they were solemnly placed within. Later on, the *martyrion* would also house the tomb of Rouphinos. The author goes on to add that Rou-

¹⁸⁸ Cf. BROWN (1971), pp. 80–101.

¹⁸⁹ VH 30, 2: ...ὁ τοῦτου πατὴρ γενόμενος...

¹⁹⁰ VH 6, 5. Fl. Rouphinos was Praetorian Prefect and advisor to Theodosius I and Arcadius. He was born in Gaul. In the years 388–392, he served as *magister officiorum*. He became consul in 392. An ambitious politician, he planned on giving his daughter in marriage to Arcadius. In 394, when Theodosius I had gone to the West, Rouphinos became Arcadius' chief advisor in the East, and, after Theodosius' death in January 395, he would briefly serve as regent on behalf of the young emperor. He was in conflict with Stylicho and was murdered on the instigation of the latter by Gainas on November 27, 395; cf. PLRE, vol. I, pp. 778–781 and GREGORY (1991b), p. 1815.

phinos also brought a number of Egyptian monks to the monastery. They departed after the founder's death (VH 8, 4–5).

Kallinikos does not provide any details on Rouphinos' death, yet it is clear that he holds the prefect in some regard, as the latter is called "blessed" (μακάριος¹⁹¹). Very likely, the hagiographer's positive opinion on the prefect is due to the fact that Rouphinos founded the monastery where Kallinikos resided, as well as the adjacent shrine. The circumstances of Rouphinos' tenure as Praetorian Prefect and of his subsequent murder seem to be of no concern to the author, as they are seen as distant past.

To sum up the question of the hagiographer's depiction of Hypatios' attitudes towards the Imperial officials and aristocracy, positive and friendly relations clearly outnumber the few accounts of controversial or contentious situations, which, as I have argued, do not always warrant such a definition. Besides, in almost all of cases some form of positive settlement is reached, even where there was initially controversy (as, for instance, the conflict between Hypatios and Urbikios). It is also worth stressing that Hypatios would always show respect for law and authority: on several occasions (as in the cases of Monaxios or Urbikios), he was willing to yield or compromise, even though he would not have fully agreed with the representatives of authority. Authority figures and not the holy man took the first step in establishing such relations. At the same time, the relations were not established by chance, since officials or aristocrats would all make a conscious decision to turn to Hypatios. This explains why Hypatios did not solicit any contact with the authorities, even when there were important reasons for such contact (as, e.g., in the case of the games to be organized at Chalcedon, where Hypatios spoke to the bishop rather than the prefect). If a layman did not show any initiative towards establishing contact, then no direct contact between the layman and the hegumen of the *Rouphinia-nai* was made (for example, Leontios or the ἄρχοντες of Constantinople over the issue of Alexander). The holy man would never turn down requests for help, advice, or prayer, solicited by authority figures, even if, like Zoanes, they approached him in a wrong way, or were simply not very good people, like Elpidios. Generally speaking, in none of the accounts in question is there anything cordial about those relations, on the part of Hypatios at least; his attitude was usually a proper one. If it should appear that when the holy man showed a more personalized attitude to a specific authority figure, this was on account of that person's spiritual qualities. For instance, at VH 35, his personal attitude towards one of the anonymous *scholastici*.¹⁹² More-

¹⁹¹ The title μακάριος was used in reference to Christians who died in faith, in particular to clergymen, but also laymen, especially emperors, cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 822. Kallinikos uses this term on very few occasions; apart from the passage in question, it is used for Bishop Philotheos of Chalcedon (VH 13, 2).

¹⁹² VH 35, 14–17 – having seen his transformation, Hypatios would come to like him and wanted him to stay at the monastery. It is a rare example of the information referring to the holy man's emotions.

over, even though it may appear that the hegumen would normally not speak to women,¹⁹³ he came to meet Euphemia, because she was a good Christian. Apparently, the ascetic practices of the Emperor's sisters were the reason for his visit to their palace. Kallinikos also recounts that Urbikios became a close friend of Hypatios and says the man was a good and noble Christian, even though there were reservations about the integrity of his intentions. Still, the hagiographer depicts this friendly relation in a somewhat cautious tone, so that it may appear as rather one-sided: Urbikios befriended Hypatios, but nothing is said about the holy man's attitude towards the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*.

The hagiographer underscores that the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* represented, first and foremost, the sphere of the sacred in the temporal world. He would recall this in his relations with all authority figures. In consequence, he was to act as an intermediary between God, the lord of the universe, and the earthly rulers, with the provision that because of God's power and might, the holy man's position was a privileged one as compared with that of the rulers. Like the Imperial officials, he was a representative of authority, but the very nature of that authority put him above them. In Kallinikos' view, Hypatios was a "father" to all the representatives of the earthly powers, and as such he had the right to admonish and educate authority figures. This fatherly relationship is a characteristic aspect of the hagiographer's view and confirms Hypatios' teachings (*VH* 24), as presented at the beginning of his discussion on the holy man's relations with secular authority. According to Kallinikos, in admonishing and rewarding of those in authority Hypatios became arbitrator as well as educator.

The author also emphasizes one additional feature of authority figures' approach to the holy man. The monastery itself is treated with enormous respect, as seen, for instance, in the accounts of Monaxios' slaves, or the holy man's conflict with Urbikios. While in opposition to Urbikios' and Monaxios' demands the holy man would state that figures of authority could seek the enforcement of their rights within the monastery, although none of them dared do so. In the eyes of figures of authority, the whole complex of the monastery appeared sacred. Quite possibly, the *VH* reflects the rise of the phenomenon of asylum in the monastic communities of Constantinople in the 5th century.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Cf. *VH* 35, 6.

¹⁹⁴ Research on the phenomenon of church asylum shows that it functioned well before its legal regulation as custom-based law, born from the respect for church and altar. In this case, it seems that a very similar phenomenon took place with regard to the monastery, also treated with respect by authority figures. For more on this question, cf. LECLERCQ (1921), col. 1551; LANDAU (1979), pp. 319–320; PAPADAKIS, MACRIDES (1991), p. 217; MOSSAKOWSKI (2000), p. 33.

2.2. Relations Between Hypatios and Church Authority

As an ordained priest and member of the hierarchy, Hypatios' attitude towards the church hierarchy is very specific. It is then worth taking a closer look at the holy man's relations with members of the lower clergy (for he was one of them) as well as representatives of the higher church hierarchy. I will also discuss the hegumen's activity as a member of the clergy.

2.2.1. Deaconess¹⁹⁵

VH 8 recounts that a certain lady saved Hypatios and two of his fellow monks from starvation in wintertime during their difficult early months at the *Rouphinianai* (VH 8, 14–16). Very little is known of this anonymous woman, except for the fact that she would have had considerable wealth at her disposal and was a deaconess devoted to ascetic practices.¹⁹⁶ Her assistance was limited to providing the three monks with food supplies, but it enabled the inhabitants of the *Rouphinianai* to survive the winter. The hagiographer's opinion on this woman is very favourable; he records that she was "rich and very Christian."¹⁹⁷ Before offering her aid to Hypatios and his companions, she made sure that he was in fact a monk by asking him if she could stay with him (VH 8, 14). Hypatios was indignant at her proposal and the deaconess could see that she was dealing with a genuine ascetic. She also asked him to pray for her (VH 8, 15–16).

This account seems to be a reflection of a certain practices existing in the Church in Late Antiquity. Financial support for the hierarchical Church, its charitable institutions, as well as monastic communities, by rich Christian women is mentioned fairly often in the sources. Multiple cases of this practice can be found especially in Palladius' work, where a number of women from the highest classes of society would donate their property in support of the growing ascetic movement, most of the women also pursuing this mode of living.¹⁹⁸ As can be seen, Hypatios was assisted

¹⁹⁵ I include the case of the deaconess in the subsection on the clergy, not in the one dealing with wealthy individuals, due to the role of deaconesses in the Church, even though they were not part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

¹⁹⁶ VH 8, 14: ...ἥν γὰρ διακόνισσα ἀσκητικωτάτη...

¹⁹⁷ VH 8, 14: Γυνὴ δὲ τις πλουσία καὶ πάνυ χριστιανή... The hagiographer notes that she possessed her own slaves (VH 8, 14: ...τοὺς παῖδας...; VH 8, 16: ...τοῖς παισιν...).

¹⁹⁸ Cf., e.g., PALLADIUS, *HL* XLVI and LIV-LV, with an account of the life of Melania the Elder, granddaughter of consul Marcellinus and the wife of a member of the notable Valerian family, who donated her large fortune to support ascetics and for the foundation of a convent in Jerusalem, of which she would later become the superior; PALLADIUS, *HL* LVII, where Candida, the wife of a high military commander named Traian, gives away her property; or PALLADIUS, *HL* LXI, mentioning, in turn, Melania the Elder's granddaughter, Melania the Younger, who lived like an ascetic and donated her large wealth for the benefit of the Church. Likewise, Olympia, granddaughter of Praetorian Prefect Ablabios

by a devout deaconess. She is represented in very positive terms, although it is not recorded whether Hypatios showed gratitude for the food supplies she provided. Her name is not recorded. The important thing is that Kallinikos depicts a certain model to be imitated by wealthy Christian women: support should be given to holy men and monastic establishments.

2.2.2. Priests

Priests are mentioned on several occasions in the *VH*. These passages are as follows:

- at the beginning of the *VH*, there is a critical opinion referring to the clergy in Phrygia;¹⁹⁹
- *VH* 2 contains a similar censure aimed at the clergy of Thrace;²⁰⁰
- *VH* 4 contains the information that Hypatios' mentor, Jonas of Halmyrissos, had been a priest;²⁰¹
- in the previously discussed chapter concerned with the ex-consul Monaxios, one of his slaves, and at the same time his relative, is ordained a presbyter;²⁰²
- after conversion and baptism, two of the aforementioned *scholastici* become priests.²⁰³

In two of the above-mentioned passages of the *VH*, depictions of the clergy are negative. At *VH* 4, the hagiographer censures the clergymen of Phrygia, calling them slothful.²⁰⁴ The criticism of the clergy in Thrace is even harsher; the priests there neglected their clerical duties, and succumbed to drunkenness and dissipation.²⁰⁵ Both of these excerpts reflect the author's dislike and castigation of the rural clergy and their misconduct. On the other hand, remaining passages are concerned with the urban clergy (either in Constantinople or associated with the city), who are depicted in a positive, or neutral, terms.

and daughter of the *comes* Seleukos, gave away her fortune to the poor and supported John Chrysostom materially; she was also the addressee of seventeen extant letters of Chrysostom, cf. *Vita Olimpiae* V and PALLADIUS, *HL* LVI. On the function of deaconess, see KALSBACH (1957), cols. 917–928; SCHWEIZER (1997), pp. 79–83 and SZAFRAŃSKI (1989), pp. 737–755.

¹⁹⁹ *VH* 1, 4.

²⁰⁰ *VH* 2, 8. 10.

²⁰¹ *VH* 4, 7.

²⁰² *VH* 21, 2.

²⁰³ *VH* 35, 15. 17.

²⁰⁴ At *VH* 1, 4, it reads: ...οἱ κληρικοί, ὡς ἐπὶ χώρας, νωθρότεροι ὑπῆρχον.

²⁰⁵ *VH* 2, 10: : Οἶνον δὲ [Hypatios] οὐκ ἐβούλετο μεταλαβεῖν· τῶν δὲ κληρικῶν πάνυ οἰνοποτούντων εἰς τὰ ἄριστα τὸν μὲν ἐθεώρει πλαγιάζοντα, τὸν δὲ στρηνιῶντα ἀπὸ εὐφρασίας ὡς ἐν ἀγρῷ, καὶ τοὺς κοσμικοὺς μὴ ὠφελουμένους, καὶ πάνυ ἀηδίζετο.

Jonas was a member of provincial clergy as well,²⁰⁶ except that he was a priest of a completely different kind: he was associated with a monastic community and, at the same time, the head of that community.²⁰⁷ Unlike Hypatios who performed his priestly duties in public, not just within the confines of his monastery, there is no information regarding Jonas.²⁰⁸ As a result, Jonas cannot be treated as an example of a priest in the ordinary sense of this word.

The remaining accounts point to the hagiographer's, and Hypatios', attitude towards priesthood as such. It is plain that for the *scholastici* (VH 35), as well as for Monaxios' fugitive slave, their priestly ordination was the crowning of a strenuous climb on their way to spiritual perfection: the slave of Monaxios chose the path of rigorous asceticism,²⁰⁹ whereas the *scholastici* experienced a profound conversion following their baptism, so that they "fervently served God, living in one spirit."²¹⁰ The priesthood is viewed here as the highest rung in the ladder of asceticism.²¹¹ The VH reflects the convergence of the paths of asceticism and priesthood, the latter being complementary to the former. Hypatios was not the first one on this path; the VH says that his spiritual teacher, Jonas, combined the duties of hegumen and priest. Another renowned ascetic, John Chrysostom, wished to ordain monks following his elevation to Bishop of Constantinople.²¹²

Another noteworthy passage is this: "...and the clergymen venerated him [Hypatios] like father."²¹³ Hypatios was held in high esteem by other priests²¹⁴ and acted as

206 There is just one mention referring to Jonas' priesthood, cf. VH 4, 7: ...ἤν γὰρ πρεσβύτερος...

207 On the monastic clergy, see WIPSZYCKA (1996), pp. 135 – 166, and SCHWEIZER (1997), pp. 109 – 110.

208 The hagiographer offers very little information on Jonas' priestly duties. At VH 4, 7, it is stated that Jonas administered the anointment with sacred oils of the sick under Hypatios' care at the monastery.

209 VH 21, 2: ...ὅστις γενόμενος δοκιμώτατος ἀσκητῆς καὶ πρεσβυτερίου κατηξιώθη.

210 VH 35, 17: ...καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸς κατοικοῦντες ἐκτενῶς ἐδούλευσαν τῷ Θεῷ.

211 This is where the VH differs from other works on famous holy ascetics, where priesthood, albeit respected, is not meant for them. The VA recounts that Antony would have much respect for the clergy and held priests and bishops in very high regard (VA 67). He would even give precedence to deacons at prayer, while at the same time the VA does not even hint at the great Desert Saint ever having taken priestly vows. As I have noted, some Syrian ascetics would often resort to desperate methods to avoid ordination; in their case, the paths of asceticism and priesthood were separate.

212 At VH 11, 8, the hagiographer quotes this interesting statement made by John Chrysostom: Φροντίζων [John] δὲ τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν τοῖς εὐλαβέσι κατακράζων ἔλεγεν ὅτι "Λόγον ἔχετε δοῦναι διὰ τὸ ἑαυτοὺς κρύπτειν καὶ τὸν λύχνον ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν οὐ τίθετε παραιτούμενοι τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ ποιοῦντες ἵνα χειροτονοῦνται ἕτεροι, οὓς οὐκ οἶδαμεν." This citation points to Kallinikos' familiarity with the idea. Still, John's attempts were forcefully resisted by the monks; the VH reports that one of the monks bit John's finger, while the other was about to lay his hands on the monk's head (VH 11, 9).

213 VH 13, 4: ...ὃν καὶ οἱ κληρικοὶ εὐλαβοῦντο ὡς πατέρα.

214 Priests receiving teachings from holy men are also depicted in some other works, cf., e.g., AP, Abba Poimen 11, where a certain priest comes to Abba Poimen to hear his teachings and eagerly ac-

an authoritative figure among the clergy, though his authority was due to his own holiness, not to a particular position in the church hierarchy. He was the spiritual father not only to the monks at the *Rouphinianai*, but also to priests whose bonds with the hegumen were of an entirely different nature from those bonds that stemmed from ordination. This type of authority is not ecclesiastical, but spiritual, stemming from Hypatios' own charisma of holiness, as affirmed by his miraculous deeds. In any controversy between himself and the bishops (his superiors), the holy man would have maintained an equal footing, which no average priest could have done. Nowhere in the *VH* is there an indication that Hypatios showed regard or reverence to other priests, thus positioning him, as it were, above other clerics. A case in point is *VH* 35, 15, where Hypatios decided to ordain one of the aforementioned *scholastici* to the priesthood. In effect, Hypatios' spiritual authority included a claim (which is, incidentally, not very well defined by the hagiographer) permitting his interference in the ecclesiastical order. He was not only able to voice a critical judgement of the clergy, as with the Thracian priests, but also claimed to recognize that a specific individual was (or was not) worthy of ordination.

2.2.3. Hypatios as a Priest

As I have noted in the discussion on the *VH*'s *narratio hagiographica*, Hypatios was ordained a priest by bishop Philotheos "under duress".²¹⁵ In consequence, he was himself a person who embodied the joint ideals of asceticism and participation in the church hierarchy, the spiritual as well as the ecclesiastical authority (the latter at the presbyteriate level). Hypatios' priesthood was not limited to having taken priestly vows. Kallinikos records that the holy man would celebrate the Eucharist at the Church of the Holy Apostles, near the monastery, every Sunday.²¹⁶ In another passage (*VH* 43, 1), he is shown standing at the altar of the same church. All his priestly duties and activities were connected with this particular church, at least this is what the hagiographer seems to claim. Significantly, his celebrations of the Eucharist at the Church of the Holy Apostles were open to all the faithful. It is very clear that Hypatios' ministry was not limited to his monastic community, as might have been the case with Jonas.

It is likely that the Church of the Holy Apostles had been given over to Hypatios' custody. This may be inferred from a passage to the effect that when the holy man

cepts his admonition, or *AP*, *Abba Arsenius* 16, where priests send figs to Arsenius and bring him ceremoniously into the church.

²¹⁵ *VH* 13, 2.

²¹⁶ *VH* 13, 4: Φόβος δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμη πᾶσιν ἐγένετο κατὰ κυριακὴν προιόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, πάντας τε διωρθοῦτο καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ..., also *VH* 29, 1: ...μήτε προίων εἰ μὴ εἰς τὸ ἀποστολεῖον τὸ πλησίον κατὰ κυριακὴν ἔνεκεν τῆς λειτουργίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εὐθέως ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ὑπέστρεφεν.

heard that Nestorius preached views deviating from the orthodox faith, he went to that church and erased the bishop's name from the liturgical texts.²¹⁷ This act led to a negative reaction from Bishop Eulalios of Chalcedon, but there is no mention of any response by the local clergy, as might have been the case if there had been other priests, apart from Hypatios, responsible for the Church of the Holy Apostles. This information is interesting because it helps define Hypatios' position within the clergy subordinate to the Bishop of Chalcedon. It may shed light on the holy man's relations with Eulalios (cf. subsection below).

2.2.4. Bishops

In many chapters of the *VH*, there are references to tense relations between Hypatios and the Bishops of Chalcedon and Constantinople. The most extensive account deals with issues connected to the Nestorian controversy, where the holy man was an adversary of Nestorius from the very beginning. Kallinikos depicts the questions relating to Nestorius at *VH* 32 and *VH* 39. Another opponent of Hypatios among the high-ranking clergy was Eulalios, present at, e.g., *VH* 32 (in connection with the Nestorian controversy). All of these controversies call for a more extensive discussion. It is also worth mentioning John Chrysostom. Even though the *VH* has no reference to relations between John and Hypatios, a section of *VH* 11 is devoted to the famous saint.

John Chrysostom

John Chrysostom's²¹⁸ depiction in the *Life of Hypatios* is very positive. Although it provides no information on any contact between the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* and the Bishop of Constantinople, the hagiographer praises John at *VH* 11, calling him great, loving, and concerned for the monks. Kallinikos goes on to say: "... [John] was a bishop through his works, an exemplary figure of the Church, a precious stone in the crown of faith, [he] would not do anything unworthy of God, and, ac-

217 *VH* 32, 11: Γνούς δὲ ὁ Ὑπάτιος ὅτι παρ' ὃ δεῖ ἐφρόνησεν ὁ Νεστόριος, εὐθέως ἐν τῷ ἀποστολείῳ περιεῖλεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ Ὑπάτιος τοῦ μὴ ἀναφέρεισθαι ἐν τῇ προσφορᾷ.

218 In 397, on the Emperor Arcadius' orders, John Chrysostom was abducted from Antioch to Constantinople, where he was appointed as bishop. In August 403, at the Synod of the Oak presided by Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria, he was deposed and banished. Soon recalled from his exile, he was once again banished from the capital in June 404, first to Koukousos in Armenia, then to Pityous on the Eastern coast of the Black Sea. He died on his way to the latter location on September 14, 407. On January 27, 438, Theodosius II had John's remains transferred to Constantinople and solemnly interred at the Church of the Holy Apostles. On John Chrysostom, see BAUR (1959–1960); KELLY (2001); and UTHEMANN (1992), cols. 305–326, with a detailed description of the relevant literature.

cording to God's will, received the throne and grace. His way of life proved his greatness."²¹⁹

The hagiographer notes that John died in exile and his relics were brought back to Constantinople in great glory (VH 11, 6–7). Another verse (VH 11, 8) says that John Chrysostom wished to ordain monks as priests, the monks in turn resisting vigorously (VH 11, 8–9).

As noted above, no mention is made of any connection between the Bishop of Constantinople and Hypatios. A notable fact is that Kallinikos does not hint at the existence of such relations, which suggests that Hypatios was not among John's followers during his episcopate. Assuming that Hypatios arrived at the *Rouphinianai* ca. 400, he may have been a witness to, or even an active participant in, the Synod of the Oak (403), which condemned John Chrysostom.²²⁰ This is confirmed by a passage in the *Church History* by Sozomen. In Book VIII, Chapter XVIII, Ammonios, one of the "Tall Brothers," is reported to have died during the said synod and was buried by the monks from the nearby church.²²¹ It is known that Ammonios was interred at the Church of the Holy Apostles at the *Rouphinianai*.²²² By that time, the monastery of Rouphinos was once again inhabited. As Kallinikos claims that before Hypatios' and his companions' arrival, the monastery had, since Rouphinos' fall, stood abandoned,²²³ the monks mentioned by Sozomen must have been the holy man and his followers.²²⁴

What was Hypatios' role during the synod? It is now difficult to be sure. It is certain that he did not support John Chrysostom, as the hagiographer would have mentioned it, especially as by the time of Kallinikos' work on the VH, the veneration of

219 VH 11, 5: Ὡς αὐντως δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης τότε ὦν ἐπίσκοπος πάνν ἐφρόντιζε καὶ ἡγάπα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ ὄντος τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ λύχνος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁ ἐντιμος λίθος τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς πίστεως, ὁ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον Θεοῦ πράττων καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ ἀξίως τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὴν χάριν δεξάμενος, ὃν καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἀπέδειξεν.

220 According to the Bonn chronology, accepted by Festugière, Hypatios arrived at the *Rouphinianai* ca. 400, his conflict with Timothy and the subsequent departure from the monastery took place ca. 404–405, whereas their reconciliation and Hypatios' reinstatement as hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* occurred in 406. Assuming this chronology to be correct, there is no option but to agree that Hypatios would have been present at the Synod of the Oak, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), pp. 85–86.

221 SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, VIII, 17.

222 PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* 17, and also PALLADIUS, *HL* XI, 5; cf. also PARGOIRE (1899b), pp. 447–449. In addition, Ammonios' burial at that location is attested in Kallinikos' work – at VH 51, 12, the hagiographer records that Hypatios was buried next to Ammonios: Πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ κατάκειται ὁ ἅγιος Ἀμμώνιος, ὁ τῆς ἐρήμου μέγας ἀσκητής...

223 VH 8, 5–6; cf. also PARGOIRE (1899b), p. 439.

224 Baur suggests a connection between the settlement of Hypatios and his companions at the *Rouphinianai* and John Chrysostom's visits to the nearby Church of the Holy Apostles, e.g., on April 7, 399, when the latter led a pilgrimage from Constantinople to the relics of the Apostles at the *Rouphinianai*, cf. BAUR (1959–1960), vol. II, pp. 238 and 256.

John was already well established.²²⁵ He may have been a witness or a participant in the synod. On the other hand, like Isaac, he might have been an opponent of the Bishop of Constantinople. Kallinikos' silence concerning events seem to confirm the latter view.²²⁶

And similarly, the fairly strange case of the controversy between Hypatios and Timothy may have been linked to the conflict between the Constantinopolitan monks and John Chrysostom, which might perhaps have divided the community at the *Rouphinianai*. One of the most relentless opponents of John was Bishop Kyrynos of Chalcedon.²²⁷ He died before 407, and it is possible that Hypatios' return to the monastery of Rouphinos may have been somehow connected with Kyrynos' death. At the same time, Hypatios would have been on very good terms with Isaac, considered as the leader of all the monks of Constantinople. Isaac's attitude towards John Chrysostom was definitely hostile. For this reason, the fact that the simultaneous support from Isaac and the conflict with Kyrynos may have been due to some causes other than the controversy over John Chrysostom, is not out of the question, as the monks of Constantinople would have remained, generally speaking, on poor terms with the bishops.²²⁸

The story is a very good example of the disparity between the hagiographer's vision and the actual position held by his protagonist. On the one hand, Kallinikos could not have written anything positive on the relations between Hypatios and John Chrysostom, as they were, very likely, not very good. On the other, he could not ignore such an important figure, since he respected John and felt that the latter should be numbered among the bishops who were on friendly terms with Hypatios. Kallinikos' account suggests positive relations between the bishop and the holy man, as John Chrysostom is presented as supporting the monks and ordaining them as priests (Hypatios was himself a monk as well as a priest). It is clear that the image of Hypatios was presented in such a way as to make the holy man appear more "in sync" with the hagiographer's own views.

225 According to Sozomen, the monks conducted the funeral of Ammonios, John's follower, with all due solemnity, but Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria and John Chrysostom's main opponent, would also have mourned his death, SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, VIII, 17. Ammonios and "Tall Brothers" were held in great reverence among the ascetics.

226 Kallinikos' silence over the Synod of the Oak might also be explained by his wish to omit any reference to the events where one of the active participants was Isaac, one of the great founders of the orthodox monasticism, held in reverence by the monks. On the questions of John Chrysostom's banishment and Isaac's possible role therein, cf. PARGOIRE (1898–1899b), pp. 138–145; LIEBESCHUETZ (1984), pp. 85–111, on the role of Isaac and the monks, esp. pp. 90–93; LIEBESCHUETZ (1985), pp. 1–31, also KELLY (2001), pp. 225–240.

227 SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, VIII, 16 and VIII, 28.

228 Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 229–276.

Philotheos, Bishop of Chalcedon

At *VH* 13, Kallinikos states that Hypatios was ordained a priest, under pressure, by bishop Philotheos.²²⁹ There is no other information concerning relations between the holy man and the bishop. Nonetheless, this is not negative in the least. Despite the circumstances of the holy man's ordination, his reluctance to take holy orders would not have had a negative impact on his attitude towards Philotheos. The bishop must have recognized Hypatios to have been worthy of priesthood and would, likewise, have held him in high esteem. In any event, Kallinikos refers to the bishop as "blessed" (μακάριος), very likely due to the fact that Philotheos was so well remembered among the monks of the *Rouphinianai*.

Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople

VH 32 recounts that Nestorius²³⁰ came from Antioch to assume the office of Bishop of Constantinople (*VH* 32, 1). Nothing more is said about Nestorius' origin. Even before Nestorius' accession to the See of Constantinople, Hypatios had a vision where the future bishop was called "a weed to be pulled out after three and a half days" (*VH* 32, 2). Inspired by his vision, Hypatios began furtively criticizing Nestorius, making his criticisms known only to "some individuals and brethren"²³¹ (*VH* 32, 3). Nestorius somehow found out about that unfriendly activity and would not meet with the holy man when passing by in the vicinity of the *Rouphinianai*, which could be regarded as the first friction between the two figures (*VH* 32, 4). In the same chapter, a little further on, some polemical exchanges between them (via messengers) are also mentioned. According to Kallinikos, the polemics in question concerned nothing other than the holy man's vision. Significantly, the passage conveys the important

²²⁹ *VH* 13, 2: ...τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλοθέου... The *VH* is the only source where the figure of Philotheos is mentioned; he would have served as Bishop of Chalcedon between the episcopates of Kyrynos and Eulalios (between the years 406 and 428), cf. PARGOIRE (1900–1901), pp. 22–24 and FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 30, n. 39.

²³⁰ *VH* 32, 1: ...Νεστορίου... Nestorius was born in 381. He was a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a monk and a priest at Antioch. He was known for his ascetic practices and homiletic abilities. He became Bishop of Constantinople in 428. Nestorius would come to be famous for his strictness and anti-heretical activity. Later on, he would become embroiled in a serious Christological controversy with Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria. In spite of the support from the theologians of Antioch, the Council of Ephesus (431) deposed him and condemned his teachings. He was sentenced first to confinement at a monastery, then, in 435, to exile at the Oasis in Egypt, where he died after 451. On Nestorius, his doctrine, and the events related to the Nestorian controversy, see REICHERT (1993), cols. 629–633; MCGUCKIN (2004); DE HALLEUX (1993), pp. 38–51 (on the course of the deposition process), pp. 163–178 (on his doctrine), WICKHAM (1975), pp. 379–392 (the scholar's analysis of Cyril's anathematic pronouncements against Nestorius); ANASTOS (1962), pp. 117–140, KELLY (1988), pp. 232–237 and KOSIŃSKI (2008a), pp. 31–63.

²³¹ *VH* 32, 3: ...τισὶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς...

information that Kallinikos recognized Nestorius as a bishop.²³² After those exchanges, Nestorius would cease to send his messengers to the monastery, and the conflict appears to have been settled (VH 32, 5–8).

The above account reflects a certain controversy which arose between Nestorius and Hypatios. The holy man's vision was probably intended to consolidate the hagiographer's portrayal of Hypatios, who was an adamant opponent of the "heresiarch" from the beginning. It may have been cited in the VH in order to match Dalmatios' alleged prophecy of Nestorius' heresy.²³³ The actual cause for the conflict between the holy man and Nestorius was not the said vision, but rather the bishop's efforts to impose discipline on the monks of Constantinople, possibly compounded by his unpopular actions against the heretics, especially Macedonians, which must have given rise to an enormous tension between Nestorius and the monks of Constantinople, including Hypatios.²³⁴

This tension would turn into an open conflict with the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy. As Kallinikos recounts, Nestorius began to preach his sermons on Christ, which contained some erroneous teachings (VH 32, 9–10). Upon hearing the news, Hypatios decided to act quickly and firmly: he removed the name of Nestorius from the diptychs of the Church of the Holy Apostles (VH 32, 11). In response, Nestorius told Bishop Eulalios of Chalcedon to press Hypatios to withdraw his decision (VH 32, 12).

This account demonstrates that the situation had already escalated into open conflict. As Kallinikos notes, the conflict broke out three years after the initial tensions, which must have occurred soon after Nestorius' arrival at Constantinople, i.e., in 428. For that reason, the conflict would have erupted in 431 amid the full-blown Christological controversy. Nevertheless, in the same chapter it is noted that

²³² VH 32, 5: ...γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος,... At VH 32, 7, Hypatios addressed Nestorius' messengers: ...Εἴπατε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ...

²³³ Cf. ACO I, 1, 2, pp. 65–69, ACO I, 1, 3, pp. 14–15 and *Vita Dalmatii* 9; also DAGRON (1970), p. 266, esp. n. 173.

²³⁴ Nestorius intended to continue John Chrysostom's policy aimed at bringing more discipline to Constantinopolitan monasticism. One of the first measures taken after he had become bishop was to curtail the vagrancy of monks. Those who moved into private houses or roamed in the streets would be excommunicated. He also forbade women and men from taking part in the same holy services at night, cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 251 and 266. Moreover, Nestorius turned out to be a very ardent opponent of all heretical movements, which resulted, among other things, in his decrees and pronouncements against Arians, Novatianists, Macedonians, and Messalians. These acts, effectively backed up by the Imperial edict of 428, would lead to some public disturbance, especially in Asia, Lydia, and Caria (cf. SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 29, 31; *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5, 65, and also LUIBHÉID (1965), pp. 13–14). Very likely, they resulted in the Imperial law enacted against heretics and the expulsion of Alexander and the *Akoimetoι* from Constantinople (see below). As I have noted, Hypatios received the banished monks very cordially, thus triggering his conflict with Eulalios, Bishop of Chalcedon. This might be seen as the first, albeit indirect, controversy between the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* and Nestorius. The situation must have predisposed Hypatios unfavourably towards the new bishop of Constantinople; cf. also WESSEL (2004), pp. 88–89.

Hypatios did not enter into any dispute with Nestorius on theological grounds. The hagiographer does not delve into the errors of the latter and his work offers no description of the views propagated by the Bishop of Constantinople. It is possible then that the hegumen would have taken advantage of that Christological dispute in order to show his own negative attitude towards Nestorius.²³⁵

Bishop Eulalios was compelled to become involved in the contention between the holy ascetic and Nestorius. It can be seen, however, that the bishop would take action to discipline Hypatios only reluctantly. He abided by Nestorius' will, although with no enthusiasm. The hagiographer even notes that the Bishop of Chalcedon was worried about the whole affair.²³⁶

Eulalios attempted to mitigate the tension, but to no avail. He asked the holy man why he had erased the name of Nestorius with no regard for the consequences it would have entailed (VH 32, 13). Hypatios explained why he had removed the name from the liturgical texts and said that he would not revoke his decision because he would not deal with Nestorius or speak his name, considering the latter was no longer Bishop of Constantinople (VH 32, 14).²³⁷ Hypatios' intransigence would render Eulalios' attitude less flexible; the Bishop of Chalcedon would come to support Nestorius' side of the dispute and told Hypatios, in stern words, to retract his decision,²³⁸ yet the holy man declined once again (VH 32, 15).

In light of Kallinikos' account, it seems that Eulalios did not seek conflict. Nor did he cause one. It was the hegumen's adamant position that made any conciliatory settlement of the problem unattainable. After the dispute between the Bishop of Constantinople and Hypatios had proved impossible to resolve, Eulalios could only toughen his stance, aligning himself, as might be expected, with Nestorius, his superior in the hierarchy. The hagiographer appears to make an attempt to justify the bishop's conduct: at VH 32, 12, he notes that Nestorius would continue to have much influence at the capital.²³⁹ As Kallinikos seems to suggest, it was for this reason that Eulalios could not have afforded to act in opposition to Nestorius. Nonetheless, despite Eulalios' entanglement in the situation, it should be said that during the whole course of the events this was a dispute between Nestorius and the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai*.²⁴⁰ At that stage of the conflict, which would not have had any

²³⁵ This would confirm Dagron's view that until as late as the mid-5th century the monastic party was involved in each of the serious controversies at the capital. Traditionally aligned with the Patriarch of Alexandria, it would act in opposition to the Bishop of Constantinople. In a similar way, the events connected with Nestorius were to become an opportunity for the monks to act against the bishops, cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 261 and 266.

²³⁶ VH 32, 12: Γνούς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Εὐλάλιος δεδοικῶς τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς δὲ λόγος εἶχεν, κάκεῖνος ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἐπιτιμήσῃ τῷ Ὑπατίῳ...

²³⁷ VH 32, 14: ...οὐ κοινωνῶ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀναφέρω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίσκοπος.

²³⁸ VH 32, 15: Ὑπαγε, διόρθωσον ὁ ἐποιήσας, ἐπεὶ τι ποιῆσαι ἔχω εἰς σέ.

²³⁹ VH 32, 12: ...ἦν γὰρ ἀκμὴν ἐγκρατὴς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ Νεστόριος.

²⁴⁰ Cf. WESSEL (2004), pp. 89–90. Dagron suggests that Hypatios would only have taken advantage of the conflict with the Archbishop of Constantinople to bring about a confrontation with Eulalios, yet

disciplinary character, and was caused by Nestorius' heretical activity, Hypatios refused to acknowledge him as bishop. The hagiographer shows that the holy man may refuse to recognize a heretic, and, at the same time, as in this case, an unworthy bishop. His role was to defend orthodoxy in the Church. When bishops proved unable to act efficiently, and especially when one of them turned out to be an enemy of orthodoxy, the holy man could rise in opposition and take action.

Kallinikos does not continue his account of the conflict, which, it may be assumed, must have been going on for some time. No mention is made of any further steps taken by Nestorius. The hagiographer passes on to a depiction of another vision that Hypatios saw at the time of the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus. In this vision, let us recall, St John was told by an angel to persuade the Emperor to have Nestorius deposed from his office (VH 32, 17–18).²⁴¹ Kallinikos proceeds to tell us that the first vision of the holy man came true: Nestorius was deposed after precisely three and a half years (VH 32, 19). The decree on the deposition of the Bishop of Constantinople was read out at church²⁴² in the presence of all the clergy and the faithful, including Eulalios and the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* (VH 32, 20). This is where the hagiographer concludes his account of the conflict between the holy man and Nestorius.

There is a chronological discrepancy in the narrative. Three and a half years are said to have elapsed from Nestorius' appointment as Bishop of Constantinople until his deposition, whereas it is known that his episcopate lasted a little more than three years, assuming that the end of Nestorius' term in office coincided with his deposition at Ephesus (June 22, 431).²⁴³ However, in all probability, the hagiographer assumed that the termination of Nestorius' tenure was Theodosius II's official affirmation of the bishop's resignation, which took place on September 4, 431, or the consecration of his successor, Maximian, on October 25 of the same year.²⁴⁴ There is also another chronological inaccuracy. A different passage notes that three years after his elevation a Christological controversy over Nestorius broke out, whilst in fact this controversy began much earlier.²⁴⁵ As a result, it is not possible to determine the starting point for the conflict between Hypatios and Nestorius with any degree of accuracy. Nonetheless, assuming that the dispute erupted three years after

it would be difficult to agree with this hypothesis. The narrative of Kallinikos, who was most likely an eye-witness to the events (he would have resided at the *Rouphinianai* since ca. 426), would hardly justify such a solution. Eulalios remained in conflict with Hypatios to the extent of supporting Nestorius, and when the hegumen's dispute with the Bishop of Constantinople came to an end, so would the tension between the former and the Bishop of Chalcedon; cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 266.

²⁴¹ VH 32, 18: Δὸς ἀπόφασιν Νεστορίῳ.

²⁴² Most probably, at the Church of the Holy Apostles.

²⁴³ Nestorius became Bishop of Constantinople on April 10, 428, and resigned his office in September 431.

²⁴⁴ For more details on the chronology of Nestorius' episcopate, see KOSIŃSKI (2008a), pp. 30–63.

²⁴⁵ The beginning of the Nestorian controversy may be dated to the close of 428, cf. KOSIŃSKI (2008a), pp. 45–47.

the latter had been appointed as Bishop of Constantinople, it could be argued that it began in the spring of 431. Considering the fact that since June of that year Nestorius had already been involved in developments connected with the Council, it may well be assumed that the conflict would not have lasted for very long. Still, in view of Kallinikos' fairly general (and thus uncertain) chronology, it is difficult to know for sure. According to the narrative (and supposing that the conflict arose three years after the first vision, with Nestorius' deposition taking place three and a half years after that vision), the entire conflict could have lasted for as much as half a year. Even if that had been the case, the course of events must have been far from intense, and Hypatios' stance would have been of little concern to Nestorius, especially as practically nothing is known of any measures the bishop might have taken with regard to the hegumen, except for having instructed Eulalios to discipline him. For the Bishop of Constantinople the attitude of the monks at the capital and in its immediate environs would have been much more important than that of those living across the Bosphorus. Once again, the hagiographer seems to be making an attempt to aggrandize the importance of the holy man and of his role in the Nestorian controversy, even though his account would appear to show that it was, as a matter of fact, of very little consequence.

Except for *VH* 32, the *Life of Hypatios* does not provide any account of the conflict between Hypatios and Nestorius, although the latter does turn up one more time, at *VH* 39. In one noteworthy passage, the hagiographer recounts that many notables, clergymen, and devout ascetics came to Hypatios,²⁴⁶ asking him if Nestorius' return was a possibility (*VH* 39, 1). Kallinikos evidently wished to communicate the fact that Hypatios had become an undisputed authority, no doubt due to his clear and firm attitude towards Nestorius during the controversy of 431.

Was the threat of Nestorius' return to the capital real? It is known that after his deposition Nestorius' followers continued to be present there. Upon the death of his successor Maximian in 434 they would even demand that Nestorius be allowed to return from his exile.²⁴⁷ One might have expected a connection between this information and the events in question, but the passage seems to make no reference to them at all, as Maximian's death took place only three years after Nestorius' fall, whereas Kallinikos notes that those clergymen and prominent figures came to meet with Hypatios "a long time after Nestorius' exile,"²⁴⁸ which would suggest that more than three years had elapsed between the banishment of the "heresiarch" and the hypothetical possibility of his return. The next verse in the passage implies that the threat in question still existed at the time of Kallinikos' work on the *VH*. As can be seen, the holy man answered the questions in an evasive way, as if it were still not certain

²⁴⁶ *VH* 39, 1: ...καὶ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ κληρικοὶ καὶ εὐλαβεῖς ἀσκηταὶ...

²⁴⁷ Cf. ACO, I, IV, p. 170. Cf. also ILSKI (1992), p. 40, n. 145.

²⁴⁸ *VH* 39, 1 – Μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἐξορισθῆναι Νεστόριον...

whether Nestorius would return (*VH* 39, 2–3²⁴⁹). In the following verse, it is stated that not only Nestorius but also his supporters,²⁵⁰ who spread “the falsehood of their blasphemy,” were at large²⁵¹ (*VH* 39, 4). It is possible that the hagiographer made use of the above account to communicate the relevance of the holy man’s words at the time of his work on the *VH*, which may have been linked with the controversy over Eutyches. At the same time, it seems, the figure of Nestorius served as a pretext demonstrating Hypatios’ confession of faith, something that can also be seen further on (*VH* 39).²⁵²

In any case, according to Kallinikos’ narrative, Hypatios would become a defender of orthodoxy not just against the heresiarch himself, but also against his adherents; he was also able to foresee the future fate of the Church. He was, at the time of a church crisis, a religious authority superior to the bishop. Others would also turn to him for the same reasons. However, let us note, Hypatios’ role in those events seems to have been a very limited one. Once again, this may indicate that the holy man’s hagiographical representation was shaped to suit Kallinikos’ aims and intentions.

249 Hypatios replied evasively that if the time of the Antichrist had come, Nestorius would return to Constantinople, otherwise, he would not, because his teaching prepared the way for the Antichrist. These strong words underscored the precariousness of the solution. *VH* 39, 2–3 – ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἔλεγεν· “Εἰ ἔστι καιρὸς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, δεῖ Νεστόριον ἐλθεῖν ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει, εἰ δὲ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, οὐδὲ Νεστορίου τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει· ἡ γὰρ διδαχὴ Νεστορίου προετοιμασία τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἐστίν.”

250 ...Νεστόριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ...

251 ...ἐκ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτῶν τῆς παρανόμου... Who were those followers of Nestorius? They might have been the pro-Nestorian party that continued to exist in Constantinople after the banishment of their leader. Another possibility is that the mention referred not to actual supporters of Nestorius, but rather to one of the parties active during another Christological controversy, which had broken out around the time of Kallinikos’ work on the *VH*, i.e., the conflict between Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople and Eutyches, who professed Monophysite views; cf. CAMELOT (1951), pp. 229–242.

252 *VH* 39, 5–6: ἡμᾶς δὲ γένοιτε ᾠφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἔχοντας βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ τρίβον καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἣν παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπόστολοι κατέχειν, προσκυνοῦντες ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν· ἐν γὰρ θέλημα, μία δύναμις, μία θεότης, μία βασιλεία πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἣ τε τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐνανθρώπησις ἀληθῆς σαρκωθέντος ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου κατὰ τὴν τῶν πατέρων εὐσεβῆ παράδοσιν καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθέντος ἡμῖν καὶ θαῦματα ἐργασάμενου θεῖα καὶ παράδοξα καὶ παθόντος σαρκὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σταυρόν τε καὶ θάνατον καὶ συναναστήσαντος ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῷ ὑπὸ ἁμαρτιῶν κατερραγμένους καὶ ἀναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πρώτην μακαριότητα.

Eulalios, Bishop of Chalcedon

Another person featured in controversial situations is Eulalios.²⁵³ The hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* had many more opportunities for dealing with him than with Nestorius, or any other bishop, especially owing to the fact that the *Rouphinianai* was located within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chalcedon, and Hypatios, as a member of the clergy, was subordinate to him in accordance with the church hierarchy.

In the *VH*, Eulalios is always mentioned in the context of being involved in a conflict with Hypatios. Chronologically, the first of these conflicts flared up over the question of the *Akoimetoι*,²⁵⁴ whereas the next one concerned Nestorius and related developments.²⁵⁵ Finally, Eulalios appeared in connection with the Olympic games to be held at Chalcedon.²⁵⁶

According to the account dealing with the expulsion of the *Akoimetoι* from Constantinople, the Bishop of Chalcedon, on the orders of the authorities,²⁵⁷ had Alexander's followers beaten up (*VH* 41, 5). After Hypatios had given refuge to the *Akoimetoι* at his monastery, Eulalios ordered the expulsion of the hegumen himself (*VH* 41, 8). As in the case of the dispute over Nestorius, Hypatios opposed his bishop, sending him an objection in the form of a citation from the Scriptures (*VH* 41, 9). In response, Eulalios decided to take firm measures against the undisciplined holy man: he sent a mob against Hypatios and the *Akoimetoι* (*VH* 41, 10). In those precarious circumstances, Hypatios took steps to calm the situation, preventing any further escalation of the conflict, even though he could have relied on support from the local villagers (*VH* 41, 11–12).²⁵⁸ Further developments are discussed in the chapter dealing with Hypatios' relations with the Imperial family. Let us only note that amid this dramatic predicament Hypatios, his fellow monks, and the *Akoimetoι* were rescued by the empress, who had to use soldiers to restore order (*VH* 41, 13–19).

The whole situation looked much more serious than the dispute over Nestorius. Hypatios faced the threat of being reprimanded, even banished, by Eulalios, while the angry mob might have resorted to violence. It seems that the popular support garnered by the Bishop of Chalcedon²⁵⁹ and the real danger faced by the monks of the

²⁵³ There is very little information on Eulalios. He served as Bishop of Chalcedon until as late as May 450, as attested by a contemporary inscription from St Christopher's Church, cf. PARGOIRE (1899b), pp. 445–447 and PARGOIRE (1900–1901), pp. 104–107.

²⁵⁴ *VH* 41, 5–11.

²⁵⁵ *VH* 32, 12–20.

²⁵⁶ *VH* 33, 4–16.

²⁵⁷ *VH* 41, 5: ...διὰ τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ἀρχόντων...

²⁵⁸ The villagers living near the monastery wanted to chase away the mob that had arrived there on the bishop's orders, but Hypatios would not allow it. This shows that the holy man would have enjoyed some support from the population, probably the local villagers living in the vicinity of the *Rouphinianai*, cf. *VH* 41, 11–12.

²⁵⁹ At *VH* 41, 10, Kallinikos describes the crowd as follows: Τῇ οὖν ἔωθεν ἀποστέλλει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος δεκανοὺς τῶν μαρτυρίων καὶ πτωχοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐγραστηρίων τινὰς καὶ κληρικοὺς καὶ βούρδονας

Rouphinianai led to the softening in Hypatios' previously intransigent position (VH 32). The account also makes it plain that unlike at the final stage of his conflict with Nestorius, Hypatios never ceased to recognize Eulalios as bishop. Their conflict was a disciplinary, not theological, issue. Nonetheless, the hagiographer implies that the reason for Hypatios' reluctance to use the local population against the bishop's servants was his trust in God's protection.

This was, it should be emphasised, the first confrontation between Hypatios and Eulalios. As I have noted, the confrontation probably took place in 428, when the Sleepless Monks were expelled from Constantinople. It seems to have been caused by the Imperial edict against heretics, including Messalians (the *Akoimetoι* were accused of harbouring Messalian errors). Hypatios' position seems not to have been strong enough to be able to resist Eulalios, hence the holy man's effort to mitigate the tense situation followed on from his initially uncompromising attitude. It is possible that support from the empress was the reason that even during his conflict with Nestorius, Hypatios had not withdrawn from his firmly held position. In fact, the hagiographer may have regarded the dispute between Hypatios and Nestorius as important, to the extent that he does not describe any attempts at compromise in his depiction of the hegumen's stance. The account also makes clear the ways in which secular authority assisted the holy man in the consolidation of his position and his spiritual authority in relation to the church hierarchy.

It is worth noting the absence of any reference to Nestorius' role as an initiator of the persecution of the *Akoimetoι*. The Imperial law had already been enacted after his appointment as Bishop of Constantinople,²⁶⁰ and Kallinikos, who was ill-disposed towards him, would not have hesitated to mention his negative role. It appears that Nestorius had not been an instigator (at least, not an immediate one) of the persecution of Alexander's monks. At any rate, the hagiographer was not aware of any such instigation.²⁶¹

The last of the conflicts between Hypatios and Eulalios, as depicted in the *VH*, is the controversy over the Olympic games at Chalcedon. I have discussed this issue in the subsection on Hypatios' attitude to secular authority. Let us recall that the Prefect

δύο, ἵνα καθίσταντες ὀδεύσωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξορίαν. The hagiographer's depiction of this hostile group is intentionally somewhat exaggerated. It may be assumed that they were mostly poor, and other lower-class, people (but also some church functionaries under the bishop's orders), who would have been most likely to become involved in any action in defence of the orthodoxy, should they believe it was in danger. This might also indicate that Hypatios did not have as much support in that section of the population as suggested by the hagiographer. As can be seen, angry mobs were used by the monks of Constantinople in their conflicts with episcopal authorities.

²⁶⁰ *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5, 65. The edict was issued on May 30, 428. It is commonly believed that this law was inspired by Nestorius; cf. DE HALLEUX (1993), p. 38 and KOSIŃSKI (2008a), p. 39.

²⁶¹ The fact that Kallinikos does not state any reason for the expulsion of the *Akoimetoι* other than the negative attitude on the part of the secular authority makes 428 a plausible date, i.e., after the promulgation of the law of 30 May, rather than 426 or 427 as a result of the anti-heretical decrees of the synod of Constantinople, as suggested by some scholars, e.g., Bartelink, cf. *VH*, p. 243, n. 4.

of the City of Constantinople Leontios wished to organize the Olympic games at Chalcedon, but the idea was vehemently contested by Hypatios. Accompanied by a group of twenty monks he intervened with his bishop Eulalios, to protest against the games (VH 33, 1–5). The bishop tried to calm the hegumen down and said he would take care of the matter (VH 33, 6–7). The bishop's assurances were not satisfactory to Hypatios, who disagreed with Eulalios. In defiance of the bishop, he claimed that he would force his way into the games and abduct the prefect (VH 33, 8).²⁶² The holy man's uncompromising position provoked the bishop, who came to treat him with arrogance, and even to humiliate him. This, in turn, led to a swift response by Hypatios in the form of increased opposition to Eulalios, relying on the monks' loyal allegiance to him (VH 33, 9–10). However, upon the news of imminent riots, Leontios abandoned his plans and left Chalcedon (VH 33, 11–12). After the tension over the threat of a possible involvement by the monks was gone, Eulalios came to understand the greatness of the holy man, respected him like father, and testified to his great honour (VH 33, 13). Kallinikos concludes this account by saying that a man named Eusebios referred to the hazard entailed in the games and confirmed the rightness of Hypatios' actions (VH 33, 14–16).

The same account also features a dramatic confrontation that could have escalated into violent riots. These had been prevented only because of Leontios' decision to abandon the idea of the Olympic games at Chalcedon. Unlike in 428, Hypatios had been adamant in his position. Kallinikos depicts the holy man as victorious in his confrontation with the bishop, and, as a result, Eulalios admitted that Hypatios was right. This looks like the previous relation between the two figures in reverse: until then, Hypatios was subject to the authority of his bishop, whereas towards the end of the chapter, and following the events at Chalcedon, Eulalios comes to respect Hypatios as a father. In effect, there would be no more conflict, as the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* proved to be the winner. In all of the above cases, he was intent on confrontation and aggravated the conflict. At first, in 428, without much popular support, he turned out to have been weaker than his opponent, and was saved from expulsion only thanks to assistance provided by the Empress. In the mid-430s, his influence became strong enough to turn the tide against Eulalios, probably due to his attitude towards Nestorius. Hypatios placed Eulalios' position in jeopardy with the threat of imminent riots. By 431, in his confrontation with the Archbishop of Constantinople, he showed no intention to yield. Once again, he took the same course and succeeded. The hagiographer describes Hypatios as an ardent defender against heresies and pagan cults as well as a moral authority for the bishop. When the hierarchy proved unable to resist threats to the Church, the holy man had the right to disobey and reprimand it, and even had recourse to the assistance of secular authorities. Kallinikos depicts the gradually increasing stature of the holy man: from a sit-

²⁶² Hypatios addresses the bishop as "Your Holiness": ...τὴν ἁγιωσύνην σου... (VH 33, 8). This was a customary title of address in reference to bishops, cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 19.

uation when he had to acknowledge the need to accept aid from a secular source until the moment when the bishop began to treat him as a moral authority.

The hagiographer describes Eulalios as a person given to compromise and easily influenced by his superiors. He began his persecution of the *Akoimetoι* on the orders of the secular authorities. In 431, on Nestorius' orders, he made efforts to bring Hypatios back into line. Similarly, he did not stand up to Leontios, a representative of the state authority. He pursued a policy of avoiding any aggravation and always endeavoured to appease, to the extent possible. This would be the source of the eventual conflict with the charismatic and uncompromising holy man, who was not as submissive to the authorities. Hypatios' refusal to conform to his superior's decisions inevitably led to confrontation, as Eulalios could not afford insubordination from a person who was formally subordinate. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the Bishop of Chalcedon was never the first to instigate a conflict; he was either "provoked" by Hypatios or simply followed orders from the supreme authorities (ecclesiastical or secular).²⁶³

In spite of all those controversies, Kallinikos held Eulalios in high esteem. He notes that the bishop "was very pious and lived a holy and righteous life,"²⁶⁴ whereas at *VH* 32, 12 he refers to him as εὐλαβέστατος.²⁶⁵ With all the tensions between Eulalios and Kallinikos' spiritual mentor in full view, the hagiographer is far from drawing a comparison between the Bishop of Chalcedon and Nestorius, perhaps owing to the fact that the holy men of the Constantinopolitan area would consider action against heresy as their primary task.²⁶⁶

To sum up this overview of the holy man's relations with the clergy, it is worth referring to another passage. At *VH* 36, the hagiographer notes that Hypatios was well known throughout the Roman world, as "letters were sent to him as to a father, and eulogies were sent from Jerusalem, Egypt, Syria, Rome, Asia, and from Thessalonica."²⁶⁷ In the next verse, it is said that his renown was so great that "all the archimandrites, bishops, and holy men from the desert wished to receive written responses and eulogies from him." And Hypatios would answer and instruct

263 The conformist nature of Eulalios is proved by the fact that he remained at Chalcedon during the whole period of the Nestorian crisis and at least during the first stage of the Monophysite controversy, perhaps on account of the fact that he had not taken a stand on those theological disputes. For instance, there is no mention in the *VH* on any deeper relation between him and Nestorius.

264 *VH* 33, 13: ...ἦν γὰρ οὗτος πάνυ εὐλαβῆς καὶ σεμνότατον βίον διάγων καὶ ὁρθότατον. This positive image of the bishop may also have been due to the fact that Eulalios still served as Bishop of Chalcedon at the time of the hagiographer's work on the *VH*.

265 The title εὐλαβέστατος was used especially in reference to the emperor and clergymen, mostly bishops, cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 567.

266 Cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 238.

267 *VH* 36, 7: Ἀκούσαντες δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ δύσει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἔγραφον αὐτῷ ὡς πατρί, καὶ εὐλογίας ἀπέστελλον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας καὶ Ῥώμης Ἀσίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης.

them.²⁶⁸ He was regarded as an authority not only to devout ascetics but also to bishops, who would write to him “as to a father.” They would treat him not only as their equal but even as their superior.

This is also how Hypatios’ relations with the jurisdictionally nearest representatives of the church hierarchy proceeded. When the reality turned out to be different from that vision, conflicts were inevitable. In consequence, the idea that the hegumen of the *Rouphinianai* stood above the representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy came true in Kallinikos’ work: the “heresiarch” would be deposed, whereas Eulalios, who initially refused to acknowledge the holy man’s authority, eventually understood his error. As I have noted, the Bishop of Chalcedon respected Hypatios “like a father,” as did the other members of the clergy.²⁶⁹ *VH* 39 speaks of various dignitaries, clergymen, and ascetics, to whom Hypatios was an authority and to whom they would address their questions concerning Nestorius’ possible return.

In Kallinikos’ eyes, priesthood was an all-important dignity and service, and it was also held and performed by his protagonist. Nonetheless, the hagiographer was also occasionally critical towards the clergy, even though, in his view, the holy man’s relations with respectable bishops were represented as very good (cf. the noteworthy account on John Chrysostom in the *VH*). In any event, charismatic authority, as based on the sanctity of the holy man, ought to be clearly ranked above the authority of the bishop.

Since the Emperor Theodosius would also write to Hypatios “as to a father”,²⁷⁰ it may be concluded that the holy man was to stand not just above church authority, but above authority in general, regardless of its origin and character.

²⁶⁸ *VH* 36, 8: πάντες οἱ ἀρχιμανδρίται καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ἤρχοντο ἀντίγραφα δέχεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογίας. Ὁ δὲ ἀντέγραφεν παρακαλῶν πάντας, ἵνα εὐχωνται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὅπως μετὰ καλοῦ περάσωμεν, φησίν, τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον.

²⁶⁹ *VH* 13, 4.

²⁷⁰ *VH* 37, 2.

Part II: **Life of Alexander Akoimetos**

1. Characteristics of the Source

In my analysis of the *Vita Alexandrii* (VAI), I have used the *Patrologia Orientalis* edition.¹ The editor, Émile de Stoop, based his edition on the *codex Parisinus* 1452 written in minuscule. Due to the presence of uncial letters, de Stoop was inclined to date the manuscript to the 11th century.²

1.1. Dates

At VAI 4, the hagiographer notes that Alexander lived “in our generation,”³ which seems to imply that a brief period of time would have elapsed from Alexander’s death to the composition of the work. An argument for an early date of the work is not so much the above-mentioned phrase, which may have been only a rhetorical figure, as the negative image of Alexander as represented in the VAI. Jean Marie Bague-nard has rightly noted that the *Life of Alexander* contains relatively few descriptions relating to a particular topos or place, while the information given by the author is fairly reliable.⁴ Upon analysis of the text, one may have an impression that the holy man was a person who had not achieved any success in any of his efforts! Alexander was unable to convince his fellow monks at the monastery of Elijah of the need to reform their ascetic life (VAI 8), achieved some fairly modest results in his missionary activity (VAI 31–32), was in conflict with some prominent figures from a certain, unidentified, city (VAI 34), was not admitted entry into Palmyra (VAI 35), was expelled from Antioch (VAI 41) and Constantinople (VAI 48–50), was kept under guard at Chalcis (VAI 41), and was not given proper hospitality at his brother’s monastery (VAI 37). Alexander was only well received at the Krithenion monastery (τὸ Κριθήνιον, VAI 42) and among the Imperial troops in the Persian desert (VAI 33). Besides, very few accounts of the miracles performed by the holy man can be found (VAI 34, 47–48). Such a hagiographical assumption, a low degree of idealization, and the absence of miraculous aspects, all point to the conclusion that the protagonist’s life and activity are represented with a fairly high degree of veracity and suggest an early date for the work.

Similar observations were made by de Stoop who noted that the hagiographer omitted many events from Alexander’s life that could have been in favour of his image. Such omissions would argue for a dating not very distant from Alexander’s lifetime. Alexander’s portrayal is vivid, veritable, not without negative traits, such

1 Cf. *Vita Alexandrii*, ed. et introduction par ÉMILE DE STOOP, *Patrologia Orientalis*, tom. VI, fasc. 5, Paris 1911, pp. 645–705 [1–65].

2 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), pp. 16–17.

3 VAI 4, p. 19, 15: ...ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ γενεᾷ...

4 Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 42.

as abruptness and disobedience to church authorities. The hagiographer also avoids providing very much information relating to Alexander's final years beginning from his arrival at Constantinople, which would have been closely connected to the Mes-salian accusations, his trial and his subsequent banishment from the capital.⁵ Moreover, the lack of rhetorical effects in the text, idiosyncratic structures often derived from colloquial popular language, vulgar expressions, and other peculiar forms, all argue in favour of dating the work before the classical period of Byzantine hagiography.⁶

The short time-span between the holy man's lifetime and the composition of his *vita* does not mean, however, that the author had been a witness to all the events described in the work. Certain features of the source argue for the hagiographer's lack of the first-hand knowledge of the beginnings and early period of Alexander's activity in the Persian desert, as, until his attempt to enter Palmyra, the hagiographer fails to mention any of the names of the places where the holy man stayed at the time.⁷ On the other hand, the hagiographer knows of the Sleepless Monks' settlement at the Irenaion and the growing influence of their community, i.e., the events after the holy man's death.⁸ All of this contributed to de Stoop's dating of Alexander's death to ca. 430, and his hagiographical biography to the mid-5th century.⁹ These conclusions have been accepted by the later scholarship, with certain corrections shifting the dates of the *VAl* to the early decades of the latter half of the 5th century.¹⁰ This particular dating is also accepted by Baguenard, who holds that the text was composed shortly after the year 450. The author, the holy man's disciple, would have drawn upon some writings and oral tradition, whereas his declarations of having been an eye-witness would belong to the domain of hagiographical style. To Baguenard, the simple style and the occasionally flawed Greek are arguments for a close, yet not direct, tradition.¹¹ This opinion may be confirmed by *VAl* 54, where the hag-

5 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 13.

6 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 12. Note the passage at *VAl* 52 where the author states that during the fifty years of his ascetic life, the holy man had been harassed, persecuted, robbed of his clothing, thirsty, and hungry (*VAl* 52, p. 60, 7–9: ...οὗτος ὁ μακάριος πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἀσκήσας, οὐ διέλειπεν θλιβόμενος, διωκόμενος, γυμνητεύων, πεινῶν τε καὶ διψῶν, καὶ χαίρων ἐπὶ τούτοις,...).

7 The hypothesis on a tradition closely related to Alexander, yet not directly to him, was also accepted by de Stoop cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 13. Likewise, this view was accepted by VÖÖBUS (1960), p. 186 and BAGUENARD (1988), p. 48.

8 Cf. *VAl* 53, p. 60, 16–p. 61, 1, where it even appears as if the Irenaion may not have been the author's monastery, as he makes use of the third person plural here: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡγησάμενοι τῆς ἀδελφότητος ποιήσαντες μοναστήριον ὅπερ προέφημεν, ἄξιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον τῶν ἀκοιμητῶν διὰ τὴν ἀκατάπαυστον αὐτῶν καὶ πάντη ἄπυπνον δοξολογίαν,...

9 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 14.

10 Grumel assumed that the source had been composed shortly after 450–460, cf. GRUMEL (1937), col. 169; similarly, Dagron: DAGRON (1970), p. 231, n. 13. Vööbus also dated the composition of the *VAl* to later than the mid-5th century, cf. VÖÖBUS (1960), p. 186. On the other hand, Caner believes that the work was written in the late 5th or the early 6th century, cf. CANER (2002), p. 127.

11 Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 48.

iographer refers to what he had before his eyes, most likely alluding to some written accounts on Alexander.¹²

A different problem relates to the section of the *VAI* dealing with Rabbula, which does not fit in with the rest of the work. According to de Stoop, this was rather awkwardly attached to the body of the work a considerable time after the composition of the *VAI*.¹³ The hypothesis was supported by Arthur Vööbus. In his view, the Rabbula episode is almost certainly an unknown *vita* of the Bishop of Edessa, originally written in Syriac, then translated into Greek and incorporated in the *Life of Alexander*.¹⁴ Modern scholars are of the opinion that even though the section in question is a later interpolation to the *VAI*, Alexander may have played a role in Rabbula's conversion, which, according to a Syrian panegyric, came about through a discussion with Eusebius of Chalcis and Akakios of Beroea, and two miracles that took place on the occasion.¹⁵ It seems, however, that the information in the chapters on Rabbula is not very plausible. A certain similarity between the conversion accounts in the two lives of Rabbula, a dispute with him, and the accompanying miracles, would suggest that the author of the interpolation had known the Syriac panegyric and incorporated similar information into the *Life of Rabbula*, as inserted in the *VAI*. In all probability, the reason for incorporating the Rabbula section into the *Life of Alexander* was the intention to "improve" it by adding an episode with miraculous elements. It is also possible that Alexander was rendered the father of Rabbula's conversion. The latter man was known for his anti-Nestorian and anti-Messalian activity, whereas Alexander's image as presented in the *VAI* may have been viewed as not orthodox enough.¹⁶

1.2. The Author

Who was the author of the *Life of Alexander*? The work itself does not provide much information that would make it possible to identify the hagiographer or to determine

¹² *VAI* 54, p. 61, 6–7: Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὴν φιλαδεφίαν καὶ τὴν στοργὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅπερ ἐθεασάμεθα κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἐμὴν ιδιωτείαν,...

¹³ Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 15.

¹⁴ Vööbus assumed that this anonymous *Life of Rabbula* was composed in one of the monasteries near Edessa, to which Rabbula devoted much of his attention. There might have been some relation between those monasteries and the *Akoimetoι* on account of the similarity between their monastic rules and Alexander's rule, cf. VÖÖBUS (1948), pp. 14–16 and VÖÖBUS (1960), p. 186. The translation of this Syriac *Life of Rabbula* was most probably made only in the 6th century, as the word θεραπαινίδας (*VAI* 33, 3 and 5) is mentioned twice in this section, in a form which would have been unknown before Malalas, cf. DE STOOP (1911), pp. 14–15.

¹⁵ Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 84, n. 26, who argues for the credibility of the information contained in the interpolation.

¹⁶ For a discussion on the chapters dealing with Rabbula, see VÖÖBUS (1948), pp. 1–16. For a sceptical view of information in this part, cf. ABOUZAYD (1993), p. 388. On Rabbula, see p. 122, n. 442.

the dates and the objective behind composition. Considering the fact that the *VAI* reflects the Syrian milieu and spirit, draws on numerous citations from the Scriptures (with the simultaneous absence of references to secular literature), is marked by its straightforward style as well as by errors found in the Greek text, the hagiographer probably came from a Syrian milieu and was one of Alexander's disciples, although he was not a disciple from the beginning of the holy man's activities. Certain clues point to the possibility that he had been one of those twenty-four monks whom Alexander had recruited at the Krithenion monastery and with whom he arrived at Constantinople; notably, the Krithenion is the only monastery identified by name and the hagiographer holds a very positive opinion of it (*VAI* 42). The events closest to Alexander's arrival at the Krithenion: his attempt to settle at Palmyra (*VAI* 35), the encounter with his brother (*VAI* 37), his activity at Antioch (*VAI* 38–41), the subsequent exile at Chalcis (*VAI* 41–42), as well as his settlement near the Church of St Menas in Constantinople (*VAI* 43) are described in much detail, in contrast to earlier events. This hypothesis would provide an explanation for the inaccuracy in referring to places the holy man visited during the earlier years and also in certain chronological details relating to those years. The hagiographer may have composed his work some time following the holy man's activities, most likely after the mid-5th century. He probably composed the work for a monastic community, as he was aware that until then there had been no *vita* of Alexander for those who wished to follow his example.¹⁷ The author adds that he himself and the readers of his work should become Alexander's disciples.¹⁸ In my opinion, the *VAI* was addressed to monks at some (unnamed) monastery, though probably not the Irenaion, which we may assume was the hagiographer's community.

1.3. Structure

The *VAI* consists of the following chapters:

Ch. 1–4 – the hagiographer's address

Ch. 5–43 – *narratio hagiographica* (including ch. 9–23, with the Rabbula episode, which is a later interpolation)

Ch. 44–47 – *argumentatio hagiographica*

Ch. 48–52 – the final *narratio* – persecution and death of the saint.

Ch. 53–54 – conclusion

¹⁷ *VAI* 4.

¹⁸ *VAI* 54.

1.4. Biographical Data in the *Narratio Hagiographica*

For the most part, the *Life of Alexander* is composed of an account of the protagonist's life, i.e., *narratio hagiographica*. With an exception of the Rabbula episode, 29 chapters, out of a total number of 37, provide information on his activity.

Alexander was born on one of the islands in the province of Asia (VAI 5). Unfortunately, the name of the island cannot be identified, but it is believed that it was one of the islands in the Aegean Sea.¹⁹ It is equally difficult to determine the saint's date of birth. Most scholars have not attempted to determine the date with accuracy, while those who have tend towards the mid-4th century.²⁰ Their calculations are based on the assumption that Alexander would have died at Gomoni ca. 430 in the 50th year of his ascetic life. Consequently, his life would have begun ca. 380. I will return to this question a little further on.

Alexander came from an eminent family,²¹ which was not uncommon among the holy men of Constantinople and other figures depicted in contemporary hagiography.²² There is not much information concerning Alexander's family. VAI 37 notes that he had a brother named Peter, who also dedicated himself to the monastic life and was the head of an unidentified monastery in Syria.²³ Baguenard has drawn on this to suggest that Alexander was born into a Christian family, though there is no evidence to prove this.²⁴

Alexander went to Constantinople in order to receive a comprehensive grammar education (VAI 5). Similarly, his second successor, Markellos, had been a well-educated person,²⁵ but, unlike Markellos, Alexander served as a *praefectorius* (ἐπαρχικός) in the service of Praetorian Prefect or Prefect of the City.²⁶ It is also written that he performed his duties with diligence, was noted for his obedience and wisdom, and as a result, as the hagiographer says, acquired considerable possessions (VAI 6).

¹⁹ Cf. DESPREZ (1999), p. 30 and CANER (2002), p. 130. According to Dagron, Alexander descended from Anatolia, cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 235. Some scholars offer more specific information. According to Baguenard, he was born on Samos or one of the neighbouring islands, cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 48, while Malamut notes that it may have been Chios, Samos, or Mithylene, cf. MALAMUT (1993), pp. 16 and 57.

²⁰ Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 48; MALAMUT (1993), p. 16.

²¹ VAI 5, p. 20, 14: ...ἐπιστήμων γονέων...

²² Cf. VH 1, 2 and VM 2, p. 288.

²³ VAI 37. During his wandering in Syria, Alexander met with his brother for the first time in thirty years. The encounter was not a pleasant one: dissatisfied with the perceived inhospitality on the monastery gate-keeper's part, Alexander reproached his brother and left.

²⁴ Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 42.

²⁵ VM 2, p. 288.

²⁶ *Praefectorius* formed part of the *officium* of Praetorian Prefect or Prefect of the City. On the office of *praefectorius* and the organization of the Praetorian Prefect's *officium*, see JONES (1986), pp. 586–592; on the prefecture of the City, see DAGRON (1974), pp. 226–239.

His service would not last very long, as he soon began to study the Scriptures, which led him to abandon the world and give his inheritance to the poor.²⁷ He journeyed to Syria, joined the archimandrite Elijah's monastery, which was renowned in the area as a thriving monastic centre as a result of its liturgy and rule.²⁸ Alexander stayed at the monastery of Elijah for four years, achieving much progress in his ascetic practices. During that time, he memorized the Psalter (*VAI* 7).²⁹ He wished to implement, quite literally, the words of the Bible with respect to indigence: "Do not worry about tomorrow!" (Rom 12:11), and tried to persuade his fellow monks into changing the form of their communal life, unfortunately with no success.³⁰ Following the example of the prophet Elijah,³¹ he went to the desert, leaving the monastery with the Gospel in his hand. He would go on to spend seven years in the desert (*VAI* 8).

The subsequent chapters (*VAI* 9–23) are a later interpolation devoted to Rabbula, offering no substantive information on Alexander's life. After those seven years in the desert Alexander began his evangelization mission at Osrhoene, avoiding charges of being slothful (*VAI* 9). The rest of the information provided should be approached with caution. During the evangelization mission Alexander is presented as having burned a pagan temple³² in a certain town (*VAI* 9).³³ The inhabitants tried to take re-

27 *VAI* 6. Renunciation of property and giving it away to the poor is a very frequent motif in hagiography, beginning from the *Life of Antony*, cf. *VA* 2.

28 The place is not mentioned elsewhere.

29 Memorizing the Psalter was not an infrequent phenomenon in that period. According to Pachomius' rule, everybody in a Pachomian monastery should be able to read and know at least the New Testament and Psalter by heart, cf. *PL, Praecepta* 140. Miraculously, Theodore of Sykeon memorized the entire Psalter in several days (*Vita Theodori Syceotae* 13), whereas the *Life of Macrina* notes that the saint always carried a Psalter book with her (GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Vita S. Macrinae* 3).

30 The question of the lack of understanding between the holy man and his monastic community is a fairly common motif in hagiographical works, cf. PALLADIUS, *HL* XVIII, 14–16, where Makarios of Alexandria joined the monastery of Pachomius without disclosing his identity. During Lent, his ascetic practices would become so rigorous that the other monks begged Pachomius to expel him or else they would leave the monastery, as Makarios has "no body": ...τὸν ἄσπακτον...; cf. also THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 5, where monks asked Simeon Stylites to leave the monastery at Teleda because of his overly strict asceticism.

31 The holy men often saw the Old Testament figures as examples to be followed, cf. PALLADIUS, *HL* XIV, 4, where Paesios and Isaiah are likened to Abraham and Elijah and *AP, Abba John the Persian*, 419, where the saint said that he had followed the example of many Biblical figures throughout his life: Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Job, David, John the Baptist, Jeremiah, Salomon, as well as Paul and Peter. According to the *Life of Pachomius*, ascetics are successors to the Old Testament prophets, cf. *Sancti Pachomii vita altera* 3–4.

32 According to the Syriac panegyric of Rabbula, he was born at Chalcis; hence, if we considered the interpolation in the *VAI* as an original part of the work, the location of Alexander's activity would have been Chalcis, cf. TODT (1994), col. 1156.

33 Anti-pagan actions undertaken by the holy men were either spectacular or undramatic, cf. BESA, *Vita Simuthii* 83–84, where, amid dramatic circumstances, Shenute made a conversion of a pagan temple at Pleuit and THEODORET, *HR* XVII, 2–4, where Abraham converted a pagan village in Leb-

venge, but Alexander was saved by God's grace (VAI 10). One of the important figures of the city was Rabbula (even called the father of that city³⁴), who entered into a nightlong dispute with Alexander, crowned with an Elijah-like miracle and Rabbula's conversion (VAI 11). Subsequent chapters recount that the inhabitants of the city were also converted (VAI 16). They destroyed pagan statues (VAI 17), whereas Rabbula became an ascetic and his wife founded a monastery (VAI 20). Later on, Rabbula would become Bishop of Edessa (VAI 21).

Given the implausibility of the information in the interpolated text, the mention that Alexander, reluctant to become bishop at Chalcis (?), where he converted Rabbula, escaped at night hidden in a basket like St Paul, should also be treated with caution.³⁵ He later returned to the desert (VAI 23). If true, this would mean that the holy man already had his own disciples by that time. However, as the whole episode begins and ends with Alexander's sojourn in the desert, and there is no mention of any disciples after his flight, its credibility may be doubted.³⁶

Such details suggest that after leaving the monastery of Elijah Alexander spent seven years in the desert and recruited disciples from a previously converted band of brigands, who would go on to found a monastery (VAI 24–25).³⁷ Still, Alexander

anon, thanks to, among other things, his intercession for the inhabitants of that village with tax-collectors.

³⁴ VAI 11, p. 24, 14: πατὴρ πόλεως ὑπάρχων... Most probably, the author of the interpolation refers to the office of *curator civitatis* or *defensor civitatis*. In the late 3rd century, the *curator* took over the functions of the magistrate. He was appointed by the Imperial authorities and, initially, his duty was to administer the financial management of the city. The function made it possible for the *curator* to become a figure with tremendous influence on city affairs in general. By Diocletian's reign, each city had its own permanent *curator*. The *curator's* duties were gradually taken over by the *defensor*. The latter office appeared for the first time at the beginning of the 4th century in Egypt and the rural areas of Arabia. The office became very important during the reign of Valentinian I, who ordered appointments of *defensores* by the Praetorian Prefect from among the higher class of former officials, such as *agentes in rebus*. They served as semi-private defenders of provincial inhabitants in their relations with the central authority, yet their duties are not clearly defined. The *defensor's* role steadily decreased over time, and the office disappeared in the course of the 7th century, cf. JONES (1986), pp. 736–727 and KAZHDAN (1991d), p. 600.

³⁵ Cf. 2 Cor 11:33. The urban population often wanted holy ascetics as bishops of their cities, cf., e.g., THEODORET, *HR* I, 7, where Jacob became appointed as Bishop of Nisibis. The holy men would very often try hard to avoid being consecrated as bishops or even presbyters, cf. p. 50, n. 168. Therefore, the incorporation of this episode in the *Vita* is in conformity with the hagiographical canon.

³⁶ On the contrary, in AbouZayd's opinion, the information referring to the attempt to have Alexander consecrated as bishop is true, cf. ABOUZAYD (1993), p. 380.

³⁷ The converted brigand motif is frequently found in hagiography. A similar event, Hilarion converting some brigands, is described by Jerome (JEROME, *Vita S. Hilarionis*, VI, 1–4); cf. also PALLADIUS, *HL* LVIII, 4, where Kapiton is said to be a former brigand and PALLADIUS, *HL* XIX, 1–4, where the author says that Moses the Ethiopian was a brigand leader. John Moschos mentions a man named David, also a brigand leader, who would later become a monk, cf. JOHN MOSCHOS, *Pratum Spirituale* 143. The *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, in its story of *abba* Theonas (*HM* VI, 2), depicts a conver-

chose not to stay at that monastery; instead, he returned to the desert and crossed the Euphrates, where he spent another twenty years living in a clay barrel in the ground³⁸ (VAI 26). Alexander's places of sojourn and peregrination are fairly difficult to identify because of the absence of any closer topographical data. Contrary to de Tillemont's view, de Stoop noted that the desert where Alexander would have been staying for twenty years was located in Mesopotamia, after which he and his fellow monks crossed the Euphrates from the north to the south as part of his mission.³⁹

At the time he was accompanied by four hundred men: Syrians, Romans, and Egyptians. Alexander divided them into eight choirs to sing psalms on a perpetual basis (VAI 27), thus establishing four hours: *tertia*, *sexta*, *nona*, and *nocturna*, subsequently increasing the number to fourteen: seven at daytime and seven at night (VAI 28).⁴⁰

Seven years on from the establishment of that community, and in his wish to remain in perpetual doxology, Alexander spent three years fasting and praying (VAI 29), and eventually established the continual liturgy, most likely by introducing the consecutive sequencing of choirs (VAI 30).⁴¹

After his community had been established, Alexander wished to undertake an organized mission of evangelizing, at first in Egypt. When it encountered obstacles (the hagiographer says that the Holy Spirit thwarted him), Alexander left the monastery in the charge of a man named Trophim (VAI 31),⁴² crossed the Euphrates, and

sion of some brigands who tried to rob the holy man, but, inspired by his sanctity, decided to abandon their criminal activity and become monks.

38 VAI 26, p. 37, 4: ...καὶ εὐρὼν πεπηγότα [ἐν γῇ] πίθον,... Most likely, a large jug-like vessel made of clay and used as a silo.

39 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 8. The scholars who agree with this view are Vööbus, cf. VÖÖBUS (1960), pp. 187–188, and Malamut, cf. MALAMUT (1993), pp. 16, 104, and 284 (however, the course of Alexander's peregrination reconstructed by Malamut, pp. 244–245, is surprisingly different). Baguenard does not attempt to reconstruct Alexander's wanderings, only stating that the holy man's apostolic journey took place in the territories of Mesopotamia and Syria, within the Empire's borderlands, cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 44. Alexander's wandering through the borderlands is also discussed by Frezouls, without anything new being added to the subject, cf. FRÉZOULS (1980), pp. 201–202.

40 According to Baguenard, the number of hours originally established by Alexander would also have included the vespers and *laus*; in total, then, the monks were to spend about twelve hours praying. They would conduct their prayers in groups according to language, which was not exceptional for the region. The bilingual communities of Publius of Zeugma followed similar practices, cf. THEODORET, *HR* V, 5. The monastery at Teleda had its own bilingual communities, cf. THEODORET, *HR* IV, 13; cf. also HENDRIKS (1959), pp. 165–184.

41 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 7. The wish to introduce continual prayer was not rare among the Syrian monks, cf. THEODORET, *HR* II, 5: continual prayer was also practised at Julian's monastery; cf. also WARE (1968–1969), p. 253–261.

42 The author of the *Life of Markellos* may have referred to this monastery when he states that his protagonist maintained relations with a certain monastery near the Euphrates, led by a man named Sergios, cf. VM 22, p. 304.

headed into the Persian desert to evangelize among the nomadic tribes of that region. In the course of his mission, a number of monks opposed Alexander (as the hagiographer puts it, because of their difficult situation) and wanted to return to the monastery, which they eventually did (VAI 32). Following on from that rebellion, Alexander and the remaining monks met a detachment of Roman soldiers who gave them food, and the holy man continued his journey with the troops (VAI 33). To sum up Alexander's mission, it seems not to have brought any result whatsoever, as there is no mention of evangelizing success among the nomads.

In a certain town,⁴³ a number of wealthy people treated Alexander and his monks like beggars eager to lay hands on the property of the rich. The same chapter says that the holy man was present at Antioch at the time. He also received some letters from bishops (VAI 34).⁴⁴ VAI 35 says that Alexander and his monks were badly treated by the inhabitants of Palmyra,⁴⁵ who locked them out, not allowing them to enter the city, fearing that so many monks living on alms, not labour, might lead citizens and the city to ruin. The hagiographer calls them "Jews." In my opinion, Émile de Stoop is right in arguing that this is only invective, a way to castigate the Palmyrians' meanness, as he refers to them as Christians also.⁴⁶

43 This unidentified location was most probably one of the garrison towns along the *limes*. The eastern fringes of Syria were speckled with military camps and sentinels situated along communication routes. At the same time, settlement fortification was meant to counter the Persian and Arabic threat. The period saw much construction activity along the *limes*, cf. MOUTERDE, POIDEBARD (1945), pp. 197–201 and 235–238. Note the presence of monks next to Roman army garrisons, cf. HENDRIKS (1960), p. 21.

44 The question of Alexander's stay at Antioch remains complicated. Scholars believe it took place during Porphyry's episcopate, cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 8; according to BAGUENARD (1988), p. 43: Alexander came to Antioch for the first time, around 404, to plot against Porphyry, John Chrysostom's opponent. Riedinger, in turn, limits Alexander's presence in Antioch to his alleged visit in 404, ignoring the holy man's stay in the city in the 420s, which is difficult to explain, cf. RIEDINGER (1978), p. 148. On such a basis, Wölflé states erroneously that Alexander would have dealt with bishop Theodotos in 404, cf. WÖLFLE (1986b), p. 303. These hypotheses do not correspond with the structure of the VAI, which would place Alexander's first and second visits to the city not very far apart, i.e., in the 420s. It would have to shift Alexander's missionary activity back to the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, exactly when he should have been in the desert. Likewise, it would not agree with the account of Alexander's encounter with his brother Peter, who had not seen him "for thirty years" (VAI 37, p. 47, 9: ...διὰ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν θεασάμενος τὸν γνήσιον αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν,...), while the account relating to that meeting can be found only two chapters following the mention of Alexander's first visit to Antioch. In all probability, Alexander went to Antioch several times, thus the visit mentioned at VAI 34 would have taken place ca. 420 and is different from Alexander's reputed presence in the city in the early 5th century.

45 Palmyra – the city in Phaenicia Libanensis, of great commercial and strategic significance, cf. M. MANGO (1991b), p. 1567.

46 VAI 35, p. 45, 17: ...καὶ ὄντες μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι ὀνομαζόμενοι Χριστιανοί,... Cf. also DE STOOP (1911), p. 8., de Stoop's reference to Jews' hostility towards the Palmyrians attested in the Talmud, as an argument for the hypothesis that the population hostile to the monks were not Jews is groundless, and unnecessary in the proposition itself.

Alexander came to Antioch,⁴⁷ where, during Theodotos' episcopate, he clashed with both church and secular authorities. Theodotos was Bishop of Antioch in the years 421(424)-428, which gives us a fairly accurate date for these events. Alexander's second visit to Antioch came in the early 420s.⁴⁸ In spite of the prohibition, Alexander entered the city at night and stayed at the empty *thermae*, even though he had already been thrown out of the city and threatened with sticks.⁴⁹ Alexander became very popular with the lower classes of Antioch, which led to a fracture within the Church in the city (VAI 38–39). The clergy responded by taking action against Alexander (VAI 40). They asked the authorities to expel the holy man from Antioch and banish him to Chalcis (VAI 41), where Alexander remained for some time until he finally managed to escape in a beggar's disguise. After a few days' walk, he reached the Krithenion monastery,⁵⁰ where he was received with much hospitality (VAI 42).

At the Krithenion Alexander recruited twenty-four monks and they journeyed together to Constantinople where they settled near St Menas' Church, in the centre of the city.⁵¹ There the holy man soon enlisted as many as three hundred disciples, mostly from other monasteries and established his own monastic rule (VAI 43). However, before long, Alexander would be accused of heresy and banished from the city (VAI 48–50).⁵²

After fifty years of living the life of an ascetic,⁵³ Alexander died at Gomon⁵⁴ and was buried there (VAI 52). As I have noted, the holy man is believed to have died ca. 430, shortly after his expulsion from Constantinople.⁵⁵ It seems that this hypothesis is incorrect. The author of the *Life of Alexander* does not state how long Alexander lived after his banishment from Constantinople. This terseness as well as the prompt conclusion of the work after a number of dramatic events connected with the accusations against Alexander would suggest, as some scholars believe, that he could not have been in charge of the monastery at Gomon for a long time. In my opinion, the absence of information regarding Alexander's final years does not

47 On his way to Antioch, Alexander met with his brother Peter, who was the head of a certain monastery in Syria, located at a distance of four days' journey from Palmyra. The meeting was not a pleasant one: Alexander reproached his brother for the gate-keeper's inhospitality and left, cf. VAI 37.

48 On Theodotos, see below.

49 This mention proves that Alexander may have visited the city several times.

50 This is an otherwise unknown monastery.

51 The Church of St Menas was situated in the immediate proximity of the Acropolis and was reportedly built by Constantine the Great, although Dagron questions this. The church replaced an ancient temple dedicated to Poseidon. According to Janin, Alexander settled near the Church of St Menas ca. 420, cf. JANIN (1953), pp. 345–347; DAGRON (1974), p. 395; C. MANGO (1985), p. 18.

52 On the persecution of Alexander and his monks, see below.

53 VAI 52, p. 59, 15: ...πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν... The introductory part of the VAI, Chapter 4, also states that Alexander had lived as an ascetic for fifty years, VAI 4, p. 20, 12: ...πεντήκοντα ἔτη...

54 The exact location of Gomon is unknown; it may have been the present-day Anadolufener on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, cf. JANIN (1964), p. 485.

55 Cf. PARGOIRE (1903), col. 308; DE STOOP (1911), p. 11; GRUMEL (1937), col. 170; DAGRON (1970), p. 236; BAGUENARD (1988), p. 47.

necessarily mean that he did not live a long life. As de Stoop rightly observes, the period of twenty years that Alexander would have spent in the desert, as depicted in the *VAI*, is also void of events.⁵⁶ Likewise, Daniel the Stylite's last years are very sparsely described in the *Life of Daniel*. I am inclined to propose a different chronology of Alexander's life, based on the details of the timeline given by the hagiographer.

On two occasions, the author states that Alexander had lived for fifty years as an ascetic (*VAI* 4 and *VAI* 52). During that period, he would have spent four years at the monastery of Elijah (*VAI* 7), and subsequently he would go on to spend a total of twenty-seven years in the desert including a disputed interval as a missionary at Osrhoene (*VAI* 8 and *VAI* 26; I omit the information found in the Rabbula episode because it is a later interpolation). Of these twenty-seven years, he spent twenty years in the desert across the Euphrates, in the course of which the community he had established there continued to live on in its original form for seven years, with the following three years dedicated to fasting and praying (*VAI* 29). This was followed by a somewhat vague period of missionary activity, living in settlements located near military camps outside Antioch or travelling to Palmyra (*VAI* 32–35). The period of his missionary efforts cannot have been very long, because immediately after his attempt to settle at Palmyra Alexander met with his brother (*VAI* 37), and the latter had not seen Alexander for thirty years, which would correspond with the duration of the holy man's ascetic life as specified by the hagiographer. Shortly afterwards, Alexander clashed with the authorities at Antioch during the episcopate of Theodotos (the years 421(424)-428; *VAI* 38–41), events that concluded with his exile at Chalcis. All these chronological data are obviously not very accurate and one cannot rely on them as authoritative information, nonetheless the hagiographer identifies the time of the encounter between the holy man and his brother quite clearly around the thirtieth year of Alexander's ascetic life. All the subsequent events recounted in the *VAI* would seem to have occurred in succession (and with relatively short intervals).

As it is known that Alexander was banished from Constantinople in 428, his sojourn at Antioch must have occurred some time, very likely several years, beforehand (his activity at Antioch, exile at Chalcis, staying at the Krithenion monastery, a certain period spent in Constantinople). I think that Alexander's meeting with his brother, as well as his presence at Antioch, must have taken place in the early- to mid-420s. For this reason, it may be assumed that Alexander began his ascetic practices at the turn of the 380s and 390s. As a result, the statement that he spent fifty years as an ascetic would suggest that he died at Gomoni at the turn of the 430s and 440s. Except for the laconic character of the hagiographical account, there are no grounds

⁵⁶ Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 13.

for questioning this chronology, even though the above reconstruction is obviously only hypothetical, based on the very general data in the *VAI*.⁵⁷

To sum up, the *Life of Alexander* depicts the holy man leaving the capital at a young age, at the beginning of his career as a state official, only to return to Constantinople many years later, following his experiences of the monastic and eremitic life. Those experiences helped Alexander create and preserve a specific type of monastic community engaged in the ceaseless adoration of God. Only towards the end of his life, as a mature ascetic, did Alexander return to the capital. He brought a group of monks along with him, only to fall victim to expulsion and, finally, to settle down not far from the city.

1.5. Alexander's Trial and Expulsion from Constantinople

A significant stage in Alexander's life, very vaguely and unclearly recounted in the *VAI*, was his condemnation and expulsion from Constantinople. I will examine this problem in more detail as it appears to be very important in the context of our further discussion. I am not convinced by attempts to explain the gap in the account of the persecution Alexander faced in Constantinople through the hagiographer's alleged reluctance to reiterate the information from the *Life of Hypatios*.⁵⁸ In my opinion, it is the novelty of the accusation, drawing a link between Alexander and heretical sects, that made the hagiographer represent dramatic developments in this way.⁵⁹ In order to reconstruct the course of events, it is necessary to draw upon a number of other sources, in particular the *Life of Hypatios*, but also the *Life of Markellos* and the *De voluntaria paupertate* by Neilos of Ancyra.⁶⁰ The publisher of the *VAI*, following LeNain de Tillemont, links Alexander's expulsion with the events of 426, i.e., the synod convened in Constantinople in connection with the consecration of bishop Si-

⁵⁷ The account in the *Life of Markellos* does not contradict this, cf. *VM* 4–6: Markellos left the monastery of the *Akoimetoï* some time just before Alexander's death in order to avoid being elected his successor. This would imply that he must have spent a long time at that monastery. However, it should be noted that the chronological details provided by the hagiographer contain many references to symbolical numbers and the Scriptures; among other things, the author often refers to number 7, e.g., seven years of his initial sojourn in the desert (*VAI* 8), seven years of the community's existence in its original form (*VAI* 29). In turn, prior to his establishment of incessant doxology Alexander himself spent three years fasting and praying (*VAI* 29). His second stay in the desert lasted for twenty years, the same as Jacob's stay with Laban. Possibly, all these time expressions are only of symbolical value (*VAI* 26 and Genesis 29:21). It is worth noting that in the liturgy of the *Akoimetoï* numerical symbolism was very well represented, cf. RIEDINGER (1978), p. 148.

⁵⁸ Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 13.

⁵⁹ Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 48.

⁶⁰ NEILOS, *De voluntaria paupertate ad Magnam*, *PG*, vol. 79, col. 997 A.

sinnios, with Bishop Theodotos of Antioch present, among others.⁶¹ Notably, the synod condemned the Euchites.⁶² This view was revised by Grumel, who argued that Alexander had been banished at that particular point in time, but on the strength of the Imperial edict of 30 May 428, not of a synodal decision.⁶³

Ch. 21 of the *De voluntaria paupertate* by Neilos of Ancyra links Alexander with Adelphios of Mesopotamia, considered one of the founders of the Messalian movement: “But, speaking of the continual free time of the saints, who would attend to divine matters, they did not open the door to sloth, advocated by Adelphios of Mesopotamia, as well as by that Alexander who had lately stirred up trouble in Constantinople.”⁶⁴ This statement makes a clear connection between the two figures. Scholars agree that Neilos refers here to Alexander *Akoimetos*,⁶⁵ hence the conclusion that Alexander's expulsion from Constantinople would have taken place as a result of the Messalian accusations against him.

Were those accusations right? De Stoop provides the following arguments for an association between Alexander and the Messalians: the holy man's presence in the areas where this heresy originated, the overlap between its geographical expansion and Alexander's route, and, above all, the convergence of his views with some of the Messalian teachings: aversion to labour and strong emphasis on prayer, as well as resistance to the church hierarchy.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, de Stoop and most of the later scholars defend Alexander against the accusation that he was a Messalian.⁶⁷ De Stoop argues that Messalians were slothful and spent too much time sleeping, while Alexander led a life full of ascetic hardships. They would not abstain from anything, observe fasting, or establish any perpetual doxology.⁶⁸ In turn, Baguenard's reference to the argument that the difference between Alexander and the Messalians

61 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), pp. 10–11. Gribomont agrees with this opinion, cf. GRIBOMONT (1972), pp. 616–617; also BECK (1959), p. 213.

62 On the Constantinople synod of 426, see esp. STEWART (1991), pp. 43–44.

63 Cf. GRUMEL (1932), p. 24, document 49 and GRUMEL (1937), col. 170. This hypothesis has been generally accepted, cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 235, n. 36; cf. DESPREZ (1999), p. 31; BAGUENARD (1988), p. 46. Still, Caner is firmly in favour of the view that Alexander's expulsion had been due to the synodal decrees of 426, cf. CANER (2002), pp. 137–139.

64 NEILOS, *De voluntaria paupertate ad Magnam, PG*, vol. 79, col. 997 A: „Ἄλλ' ἄρα μὴ τῇ τῶν ἁγίων διηνεκεῖ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀσχολίᾳ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδελφίου τοῦ τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν βασιλευμένην Κωνσταντινούπολιν θολώσαντος ἀργίας ἀνοίγων ἑνὴν θύραν προσκάλυμμα τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀκνηρίας τὸ διὰ παντὸς δοκεῖν προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ προσευχῇ πεποιημένοι, καὶ νέοις παισὶ, καὶ ἀνδράσι σφριγῶσιν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἰσχύν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ταύτην πολλοῖς ὀφείλουσι καταλύσαι πόνοις νομοθετήσαι τὸ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι τῇ ἀνέσει καὶ τὰ πάθη αὐτοῖς ἐπεγείρας, καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ παρασχούσιν ἄδειαν ταῖς τούτων ὕλαις ἐνευκαλεῖν, ἕως ἂν ἡ δοκοῦσα προσευχὴ, οὐκ οὔσα δὲ τοῦτο ὅπερ λέγεται πάντῃ ἀπόληται.

65 Cf. GRIBOMONT (1972), pp. 617–618; STEWART (1991), pp. 45–46; FITSCHEN (1998), pp. 142–144; CANER (2002), pp. 127–128.

66 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 15.

67 Gribomont is the only clear exception in this regard, cf. GRIBOMONT (1972), pp. 617–618.

68 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 16.

is that the latter renounced sacraments, whereas Alexander advocated and prepared for baptism, is an outright misunderstanding. The scholar points to the Rabbula episode, which he had earlier considered a later interpolation! Just as erroneous is his opinion that Alexander must have participated in celebrating the Eucharist, for which he offers no evidence.⁶⁹ On the other hand, Wölflé argues that the empress Pulcheria would not have defended the heretical Messalians and that the Sleepless Monks had their own monastery, whereas the Messalians would be forbidden from possessing their own by law.⁷⁰ Vööbus asserts that the hostility of the clergy and the envy of the hegumens of those monasteries which some monks had abandoned in order to join Alexander resulted in the accusations of heresy, even though he does not resolve whether they were right or wrong.⁷¹

The arguments stated by the scholars in defence of Alexander's orthodoxy do not seem to be very convincing especially as the accusations of sleeping too long and being slothful came from the opponents of Messalians and were of a polemical nature.⁷² I think that Alexander adapted certain aspects of the Messalian idea to the needs of his own community following the time he had spent in the regions where it flourished. The rejection of work and strong emphasis on praying, as well as the clear contemporary tendency to link Alexander with Messalianism (e.g., Neilos of Ancyra and the court verdict) seem to indicate that Alexander's community had been, to a certain extent, an example of Messalianism. Certainly, the model of spirituality as advocated by Alexander was fully coincident with all the charges that various authors levelled at the Messalians,⁷³ but Alexander's character, his uncompromising attitude, as well as the literal (thus, not completely orthodox) interpretation of the Scriptures, would correspond with the spirit of the Syrian ascetic movements at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. For this reason, the accusations that had been directed against him in Constantinople were, very likely, justified. Alexander was an Old-Testament-like figure, attempting, like Elijah, to admonish and castigate the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, which would have precipitated his failures and persecution.⁷⁴ Contemporaries were in much doubt as to Alexander's orthodoxy, as attested by the above-mentioned passage from Neilos' work and Theodoret's si-

69 Cf. BAGUENARD (1988), p. 51. There is no information in the *VAl* referring to this question. Apart from this example, the author mostly repeats de Stoop's arguments.

70 He admits, however, that Messalian tendencies can be seen in Alexander's spirituality, cf. WÖLFLE (1986b), pp. 305–307. On the arguments for clearing the *Akoimetoï* of the Messalian accusation, see also FITSCHEN (1998), pp. 143–144.

71 Cf. VÖÖBUS (1960), p. 190.

72 Cf. STEWART (1991), p. 6.

73 Cf. STEWART (1991), pp. 55–64.

74 Cf. DE STOOP (1911), p. 15. Daniel Caner, in his support of the hypothesis of Alexander's Messalianism, points, among other things, to the information found in Timothy of Constantinople that one of the Messalian groups was known as χορευταί; it is worth noting that this particular group has not been identified to date. According to Caner, the name *choreutai* is a perfectly apt description of Alexander's monks divided into psalm-singing choruses, cf. CANER (2002), p. 141.

lence. The latter author, in his work on the eminent Syrian ascetics, makes no mention of Alexander *Akoimetos*, who was active at the time and in the region described by Theodoret of Cyrrhus.⁷⁵

2. Analysis

The *Life of Alexander* describes a situation which is completely different from those observed in the other *vitae* discussed in this book. Alexander had spent most of his life far from the capital. As a result, one cannot treat this hagiographical work as an example of the lives of saints associated with Constantinople and the adjacent region. The holy man returned to the capital near the end of his life. On the other hand, it is impossible to separate Alexander's activity in Constantinople from his earlier experiences in the East, experiences which shaped his type of asceticism. These experiences will also be discussed, especially as the entire *VAI* was written from the perspective of Constantinople. Particular attention will be drawn to the events connected with the holy man's presence at Antioch; the conditions existing in this important city may have resembled the situation in Constantinople.

2.1. Alexander's Relations with the Authorities from the Beginning of His Activity up until His Arrival at Antioch⁷⁶

Of all those discussed in this work, Alexander is the only hagiographical protagonist who also served as an official representing secular authority. The author commends

⁷⁵ Cf. CANIVET (1961), pp. 33–34.

⁷⁶ In this analysis of the relations between Alexander and the authorities I will only omit the situations described in the interpolated chapters connected with the figure of Rabbula. According to the Syriac *Life of Rabbula* (composed in the mid-5th century by an anonymous clergyman from Edessa), he came from a wealthy family at Chalcis in Osrhoene. He received a very good classical education and became prefect of his city after his father's death. Rabbula became a Christian ca. 400 and was appointed Bishop of Edessa ca. 412. He died in 436. After the Council of Ephesus, he became involved in the struggle against the Nestorian movement. The *Life of Alexander* deals with Rabbula in as many as 11 out of its 54 chapters. The *VAI* information on Rabbula does not tally with the Syriac *Vita* in full, which, among other things, attributes Rabbula's conversion to the activity of Eusebius of Chalcis and Akakios of Beroea, while the *VAI* ascribes it to Alexander, cf. PEETERS (1951), pp. 139–170; ALTANER, STUIBER (1990), pp. 338, 464–465; TODT (1994), cols. 1156–1159. The *VAI* describes Rabbula as the father of the city (the hagiographer does not mention the name of the city, yet the internal structure of the work makes it possible to situate it in Mesopotamia or Osrhoene. The Syriac *Life of Rabbula* states that he would have come from Chalcis, hence this identification is possible, cf. TODT (1994), col. 1156), a politician and, as the author says, a man who is a collaborator with the devil (*VAI* 11, p. 24, 13–14: Ῥάββουλος δέ τις πολιτευόμενος, – συνεργός τοῦ διαβόλου ὑπάρχων οὗτος, πατήρ πόλεως ὑπάρχων...). *VAI* 21 recounts that Rabbula became Bishop of Edessa after his conversion by Alexander. It says that upon the death of the incumbent bishop,

him for his diligent performance of official duties. It seems, therefore, that Alexander's attitude to Imperial service was not negative (*VAI* 6). Unlike in the case of Jonas of Halmyrissos, Alexander encountered no difficulties in his abandoning of his service.⁷⁷

The first occasion where a number of figures of authority can be seen is a passage dealing with the Roman troops that Alexander encountered during his wandering through the desert (cf. *VAI* 33). As the hagiographer puts it, the Roman tribunes and soldiers were sent by God, in fulfilment of the holy man's prophecy.⁷⁸ They were a detachment on their way through the border territory. The soldiers asked Alexander's monks to bless them, and the holy man accompanied them and edified them in their faith (*VAI* 33, p. 43, 14–16; p. 44, 3).

The next chapter, *VAI* 34, depicts a number of bishops⁷⁹ writing to Alexander (who at that time was staying at Antioch) on behalf of a frightened crowd of local people, asking him to intercede for the population. The area had been afflicted with crop failures over the previous three years, caused by the evil done by a certain group of inhabitants. Upon receiving the news, Alexander cried before God, asking Him to withhold the punishment. The holy man's pleading was answered and abundant crops returned to the land, whereas the culprits were punished by God: their children died, flocks and herds were taken away by barbarians, and their houses destroyed by brigands (*VAI* 34).

There is no indication of episcopal authority in the above account, of the fact that the bishops must have notified the holy man of the famine and asked for his aid, thus impacting on his conduct. The hagiographer notes that it was the condition which the population had suffered that led Alexander to pray and implore for them, not the bishops' intervention itself. It is, however, noteworthy that the afflicted people sought the bishops' intercession, as though they were expecting that it would help to gain the holy man's sympathy.

who is not identified by name (it was Diogenes), the whole city and its environs demanded that Rabbula should take his place (*VAI* 21, p. 33, 13–15). The following chapter represents a very favourable appraisal of Rabbula as bishop; the hagiographer likens him to a harbour of the knowledge of God, on whom the people of Syria, but also the inhabitants of Armenia, Persia, and other countries of the world, could draw (*VAI* 22, p. 33, 17 – p. 34, 1). It is evident that the author of the interpolation exhibits a clearly positive attitude towards the Bishop of Edessa.

⁷⁷ Cf. *VH* 3, 1–5.

⁷⁸ *VAI* 33, p. 43, 9–10: ...ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἁγίου τριβούνους Ῥωμαίους καὶ στρατιώτας...

⁷⁹ *VAI* 34, p. 44, 13: ...τοῖς ἐπισκόποις τῶν Ῥωμαίων...

2.2. Alexander's Conflict with the Authorities of Antioch

Alexander came into closer contact with the domain of the authorities only upon his arrival at Antioch. The chapters *VAI* 38–41 recount the course of the conflict between Alexander and his monks and the church and secular authorities.⁸⁰ The details therein deserve our attention as the controversy was turbulent.

The conflict between Alexander and the ecclesiastical authority had already begun at the moment of the holy man's arrival at the city. Bishop Theodotos⁸¹ was biased against Alexander because of wicked and hypocritical men, whom the author calls *περιοδευταί*,⁸² hence the bishop permitted the persecution of Alexander's monks (*VAI* 38, p. 47, 18 – p. 48, 4). Whatever it was that these individuals recounted to the bishop remains unknown, but he must have perceived Alexander's monks as a threat to public order in the city, and for that reason he allowed such radical measures. At any rate, the hagiographer does not use any negative or positive epithets in reference to Theodotos. Even the statement that Alexander recognized the devil's action in those measures⁸³ cannot be considered as referring directly to the bishop, but rather to his associates. Of course, the remark on the bishop's having succumbed to the wicked tongues does not put Theodotos in a positive light, and is certainly tinted with criticism.

For this reason, the holy man entered the city at night, by stealth and without the bishop's permission, and placed his fellow monks in an empty bathhouse.⁸⁴ When the bishop learned about Alexander's audacity, he was outraged but did not decide to take any action against him, apprehensive as he was about the population's pos-

⁸⁰ This was not Alexander's first visit to Antioch, as noted at *VAI* 34, p. 44, 15, cf. also above.

⁸¹ Theodotos, Bishop of Antioch from 421 or 424 to 428, put an end to the Antiochene schism. Downey argues for a longer episcopate, cf. DOWNEY (1961), p. 458. Devreesse, in turn, notes that Theodotos' episcopate can be dated to the years 424–428, cf. DEVRESSE (1945), p. 117; for a similar dating, cf. GRUMEL (1958), p. 446. Festugière states that Theodotos had been Bishop of Antioch in the years 421–429, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1959), pp. 295–296. Theodotos is very highly praised by THEODORET, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 38.

⁸² *VAI* 38, p. 47, 18 – p. 48, 1: ...παρά τινων πονηρῶν καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ἀνθρώπων [φησὶ περιοδευτῶν] ... The *periodeutes* were clerics whose rank was equal to that of presbyter, entrusted with supervision over the churches within the area of the bishop's jurisdiction. Their functions were practically identical to those of *chorepiskopos*; they also served in the capacity of diocesan inspectors, cf. LECLERCQ (1938), cols. 369–379; JONES (1986), p. 879; BAGUENARD (1988), p. 108, n. 119; also TROMBLEY (2000), p. 63, n. 300. It must be noted that referring to those “wicked and hypocritical” people as *periodeutes* is only a gloss, thus one cannot draw any far-reaching conclusions from the use of this term. De Stoop does not provide any details on this insertion, cf. DE STOOP (1911), note to p. 48, 1.

⁸³ *VAI* 38, p. 48, 4: ...τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ διαβόλου θεασάμενος,...

⁸⁴ The author does not provide any information on the bathhouse and its location. There were many *thermae* at Antioch, some of them several hundred years old; for some of those *thermae*, see DOWNEY (1961), pp. 155, 171, 208, 221, 233, 242, 410.

sible response. The people believed that Alexander was a prophet and would gather around him in great numbers to listen to his preaching (VAL 38, p. 48, 4–10).

It can thus be seen that Alexander violated the bishop's prohibition and sneaked into Antioch at night. In consequence, he disturbed the well-established public order and drew the inhabitants away from their shepherd; the hagiographer notes that the churches were increasingly empty because the people were gathering around Alexander (VAL 38). In effect, the holy man put himself in opposition to ecclesiastical authority. The authority, for its part, wanted to get rid of this intruder bringing unrest into the city.

Alexander soon became very popular at Antioch and proceeded to take care of the poor in the city, most notably by having some shelters erected for them. To make this charitable effort possible, he enlisted the support of wealthy citizens. At the same time, he openly spoke against the *magister militum* (whose name remains unknown) and the bishop for their neglect (VAL 39).⁸⁵ Consequently, the conflict was further aggravated. In the course of steps taken to consolidate his position in the city, Alexander targeted the highest members of both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Let us note that the holy man attacked the *magister militum*, not the *comes Orientis*, even though the latter was in charge of the civil affairs in the city.⁸⁶ It may have reflected the actual power structure at Antioch in the 420s. At any rate, Alexander's attack had not been limited to the figure of the *magister militum*; subdeacon Malchos' words make it clear that the holy man posed a threat to the bishop and some other unidentified officials.⁸⁷ Besides, it should be noted that Alexander persuaded the rich citizens of Antioch to take part in his charitable causes, which must have been a matter of concern in the eyes of the church authorities.

The following chapter recounts how Bishop Theodotos' associates reacted to Alexander's activities. The Antiochene clergymen are described as two-faced people,

⁸⁵ VAL 39, p. 48, 18 – p. 49, 1: ...ἐμέμψατο καὶ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ περὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἀμελουμένων... Assuming the longer period for Theodotos' episcopate, we know of two figures serving as *magister militum per Orientem* at that time. The first one, Ardabur, served in 421–422, the second, Procopius, in 422–424. It is not known, however, who was the *magister militum per Orientem* in the years 424–428. Ardabur was the father of the famous Aspar. After the outbreak of the Persian war in 421, he campaigned in Persian territory and besieged Nisibis for a certain time. He was probably recalled back to Constantinople after the war and appointed *magister utriusque militiae*. It is not known if he stayed at Antioch for a longer period during his command in the East, cf. PLRE, pp. 137–138. His successor in this post was Procopius, the father of the future emperor Anthemius. He had a role as an envoy in the delegation sent to Persia to end the war in 422. Along with the post of *magister militum per Orientem*, he received the patrician title. He is attested as the commander in the East in 424, but it is not known how long he continued in that post, cf. PLRE, p. 920. Of these two figures, the more likely identification of the *magister militum* in the VAL is Procopius, even though one cannot rely on anything more than mere speculation. On the charitable activity of the Bishop of Antioch, see LIEBESCHUETZ (1972), pp. 239–240.

⁸⁶ *Magister militum per Orientem* was a figure with vast authority in the territory of Syria; cf. LIEBESCHUETZ (1972), pp. 110–118.

⁸⁷ VAL 40, p. 49, 9–10: ...οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἄρχουσιν...

who admired Alexander in public, but were full of envy deep in their hearts. Subdeacon Malchos, whom the author calls an arrogant man,⁸⁸ informed the bishop of the dangers to the Church that might be caused by Alexander, claiming that the holy man was responsible for the fall of the glory of the Church, while the clergy had become the object of ridicule and shame.⁸⁹ Malchos obtained the bishop's consent to have Alexander expelled from Antioch. In Malchos' words, Theodotos was not the only bishop to have been castigated by Alexander, as the latter was also said to have a negative attitude towards Porphyry (VAL 40). Actually, Alexander may have been present at Antioch between his first and second sojourns in the desert, following the year 400, though the hagiographer does not mention this.⁹⁰

On receiving the bishop's permission, Malchos and his attendants started attacking Alexander, even going so far as to use violence, and ordered the holy man to leave the city. Alexander's response was very peaceful; the author even likens him to an innocent lamb.⁹¹ In any case, he made no reply to Malchos, only alluding to a citation from the Holy Bible.⁹² Malchos could not harm the holy man, as the latter was protected by the people. Finally, Malchos went back to the bishop and recounted the events. After some deliberation, they all decided to meet with the *magister militum* to ask him to have Alexander banished to Chalcis in Syria and his community expelled from Antioch (VAL 41).

Alexander was thus banished from Antioch and interned at Chalcis,⁹³ where he was kept under guard due to the apprehensions of the authorities.⁹⁴ However, the author also says that he was watched over by the people at that time, thanks to their devotion and loyalty (VAL 41). The next chapter recounts that the *magister militum* had forbidden Alexander from departing from the city. Nonetheless, he managed

⁸⁸ VAL 40, p. 49, 4: Μάλχος δέ τις ὑποδιάκονος, ἀνὴρ ὑπερήφανος...

⁸⁹ Malchos called Alexander "magician": ...οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαγοδείκτης... (VAL 40, p. 49, 7–8).

⁹⁰ Alexander's stay at Antioch after 400 corresponds with the assumed chronology. I have assumed that the holy man began his ascetic life at the turn of the 380s and 390s, then went on to spend four years at the monastery of Elijah, after which he spent the following seven years in the desert in the early 5th century. In the present form of the VAL, the period between the first and second sojourns in the desert is filled in with the events described in the Rabbula interpolation, yet it is possible that the holy man may have actually been present at Antioch at the time. Porphyry was appointed Bishop of Antioch in 404 in spite of his unpopularity among the population of the city (PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* 16). He was an opponent of John Chrysostom. After John's death, Porphyry refused to mention his name in the liturgy, which led to the Antiochene schism, concluded only under Porphyry's successor, Alexander. Porphyry died in 413, cf. DOWNEY (1961), p. 457; DEVRESSE (1945), p. 117.

⁹¹ VAL 41, p. 49, 17: ...ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον...

⁹² VAL 41, p. 50, 1–2: ...[Alexander] τοῦτο μόνονεῖπών· Καὶ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ δούλῳ ἐκεῖνῳ Μάλχος. This is a citation from J 18:10 referring to the name of the high priest's servant whose right ear was cut off by St Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane.

⁹³ Chalcis, in the north of Syria I, was strategically located as part of the *limes* of the same name, cf. M. MANGO (1991a), p. 406.

⁹⁴ VAL 41, 10–11: ...ὑπὸ τῶν δημοσίων φυλαττόμενος διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἀρχόντων,...

to escape from Chalcis in disguise at night (VAI 42). Once again, the holy man gained popular support in another municipality. It is also clear that Alexander posed a serious problem for the authorities, as he had to be kept under guard. He failed to respect the *magister militum*'s order and broke the law by leaving Chalcis.

To sum up, Alexander's presence at Antioch had been marked by conflicts from the very beginning, first with the Church, then also with the secular authorities. The controversy was caused by Alexander's provocative behaviour, his admonishing of the authorities, and his relentless and uncompromising attitude. He gained considerable support among the inhabitants, which the authorities also saw as a cause for alarm. The Church of Antioch was divided and, as a result, the only way out of this increasingly tense situation was for the authorities to get rid of the kernel of the unrest, i.e., to have Alexander and his community expelled from the city. It is clear the ecclesiastical and secular authorities worked hand in hand to banish the holy man, the secular authorities assisting the clergy in this common effort.

The author appears to mitigate controversial aspects of Alexander's activities only to a limited extent. He stresses the responsibility of the bishop, as well as of the officials stigmatized by the holy man, and also notes that the authorities were guided by poor advisors. At the same time, Alexander was not much concerned with the legitimacy of his actions, and caused a split within the Church. The holy man failed to win over the ecclesiastical and secular authorities to his arguments. The account given by the anonymous hagiographer thus seems more realistic than the one found in the *Life of Hypatios*. At the same time, the author presents a rather different ideal of the charismatic leader, less inclined to accept compromise.

2.3. Alexander in Constantinople

VAI 48–51 contains information on the conflict between Alexander and the authorities in Constantinople. As VAI 48 says, the devil incited the prefects⁹⁵ to believe that the holy man was a heretic and he intended to destroy God's Church.⁹⁶ In effect, both the authorities and the population of Constantinople joined forces in opposition to Alexander.⁹⁷ The holy man addressed them with the words of a psalm: "Though princes sit plotting against me, your servant keeps pondering your will. / Your instructions are my delight, your wishes my counsellors. (...) I cling to your instructions, O Lord, do not disappoint me!"⁹⁸ The author goes on to say that the judges accused

⁹⁵ VAI 48, 7: ...τοῖς ἐπάρχουσιν...

⁹⁶ VAI 48, p. 57, 7: ...ὅτι ὁ μοναχὸς Ἀλέξανδρος αἰρετικὸς ἐστὶν καὶ βούλεται λυμᾶναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

⁹⁷ VAI 48, p. 57, 12–13: ...ἔχων τὸν δῆμον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκινημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου...

⁹⁸ VAI 48, p. 57, 14–16:

of injustice by Alexander⁹⁹ were going to pass verdict on him, yet later decided to release him, handing him over to the crowd to have him torn to pieces.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, Alexander was rescued by God and he passed through the throng unharmed (VAL 49, p. 58, 2–8).¹⁰¹ His problems in Constantinople were not however over. As VAL 50 suggests, the inhabitants of the capital acted against the holy man.¹⁰² They put Alexander and his fellow monks in shackles and maltreated him (VAL 50, p. 58, 14 – p. 59, 2). The situation continued for several days. It was also ordered that the hegumens of the monasteries from which Alexander's fellow monks had come should accept them back (VAL 50, p. 59, 1–2). In consequence of those actions, the holy man was left with no companions, just as his enemies had intended. However, when Alexander was set free, his monks returned, restoring his monastic rule (VAL 51, p. 59, 4–7).

The hagiographer does not further mention these events. The persecution of Alexander and his monks must however have ceased, as towards the end of VAL 51 the hagiographer states that the monks continued to advance in the Lord and their number was increasing. Throughout the world, not only in the Empire but also in barbarian lands, the holy man had his disciples, and these were living in auspicious conditions (VAL 51, p. 59, 7–12).

The accusation of heresy, Alexander's trial, and subsequent expulsion from Constantinople are depicted in the VAL in a very tangled way. The role of the church hierarchy in these events is not known. Was this the first to make the accusations? The bishop could not have played a passive role, and must have become involved in the course of the events, yet we have no evidence to prove involvement. The hagiographer may not have wanted to implicate the Constantinopolitan clergy in the persecution of Alexander, but would not have had such scruples as regards the church hierarchy of a more distant city, i.e., Antioch. On the other hand, Nestorius had been the Bishop of Constantinople at that time, and neither the *Life of Alexander* nor the *Life of Hypatios* (the latter is very much anti-Nestorian, and also recounts the above events) link Nestorius with the persecution of Alexander;¹⁰³ hence, in this case, it

“καὶ γὰρ ἐκάθισαν ἄρχοντες, κατ’ ἐμοῦ κατελάλουν·
 ὁ δὲ δοῦλός σου ἠδολέσχει ἐν τοῖς δικαίωμασί σου.
 καὶ γὰρ τὰ μαρτύριά σου μελέτη μου ἐστὶ,
 καὶ ἡ συμβουλία μου τὰ δικαιώματά σου.
 ἐκολλήθην τοῖς μαρτυρίοις σου,
 κύριε, μή με κατασχύνῃς.” – Ps 119 (118), 23–24, 31.

99 VAL 49, p. 58, 2: ...οἱ οὖν καταστάντες δικασταί, τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν μὴ καταλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν κριτὴν ἐδικαίωσαν.

100 VAL 49, p. 58, 4: ...ὑπὸ τῶν δῆμων καὶ τῶν ὑπερασπιστῶν τοῦ διαβόλου.

101 A reference to the Gospel account where the inhabitants of Nazareth had attempted to throw Jesus down the cliff; Jesus “passed straight through the crowd and walked away,” cf. Luke 4:30.

102 VAL 50, p. 58, 13–14: ...οὕτως οὖν προσέρχεται ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῷ μακαρίῳ, καὶ συναρπάσαι τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εἰς συμμαχίαν προκαλεῖται. The author may be also referring here to the hegumens of the other monasteries.

103 Cf. VH 41; see above.

may be presumed, the hagiographer makes no attempt to conceal the bishop's part in the affair.¹⁰⁴ The monasteries of Constantinople, already in existence at the time of Alexander's arrival, had played a certain role in the events as well. The author makes it clear that the *Akoimetoι* would have drawn some monks away from their earlier monasteries; they abandoned their monastic establishments and joined Alexander's community. Resulting envy may have been the reason for actions taken against Alexander, especially as the author stresses that the holy man's monks were supposed to return to their previous monasteries following on from his arrest (Val 52, p. 60, 1–2). It is also worth noting the peculiar account of popular opposition to the holy man. The hagiographer uses the term *δημοι*, usually referring to the people, but also denoting circus factions.¹⁰⁵ The factionists might also have used violence against Alexander; however, considering the very similar account on the expulsion of the *Akoimetoι* in the *Life of Hypatios*, it is more likely that the author refers to the people of Constantinople or in the environs of the capital. It is also noteworthy that the prefects are mentioned in plural: – *ἐπαρχοι*. In not making it clear whether he is referring to the Praetorian Prefect or the Prefect of the City, the hagiographer may have wished to avoid making accusations against any specific person. The Praetorian Prefect from 21 April 428 to 11 February 429 was a man named Florentios.¹⁰⁶ However, the official responsible for protecting and maintaining law and order in Constantinople was the Prefect of the City. At the time, he was a man named Proklos, confirmed as *praefectus urbis Constantinopoleos* on 31 January and 13 July 428. He ought to be seen as the authority behind the action against Alexander.¹⁰⁷ At any rate, the secular authorities were accountable for actions against the holy man, although the hagiographer endeavours to place some of the blame on the population of Constantinople. This confusing manner in which the dramatic developments of 428 are recounted reveals the difficulties in attempting to reconcile all the facts from the holy man's life, the facts which do not fit any pattern of 'political correctness'.

To sum up, Alexander's relations with the circles in authority were fairly scarce. This is mostly due to the specific character of his asceticism and the territory where he had been active for most of his lifetime. More frequent relations would only begin with his arrival at the larger cities: Antioch and Constantinople. This is where one can see the adversarial relations between Alexander and representatives of the eccle-

¹⁰⁴ On the contrary, Daniel Caner holds that Alexander's trial had taken place on the initiative of the church hierarchy, although he ties the event with the synod of Constantinople (426), i.e., prior to Nestorius' episcopate, cf. CANER (2002), pp. 140–142.

¹⁰⁵ On the meanings of the terms *δημος* and *δημοι* in late Antiquity, see AL. CAMERON (1976), pp. 28–39; SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 356; MCCORMICK (1991a), pp. 608–609.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. PLRE, pp. 478–480. Florentios was an orthodox Christian. He was present at the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. DAGRON (1974), p. 268 and PLRE, p. 923. We have no further information on Proklos.

siastical and secular authorities. Throughout his time at Antioch, the holy man remained in conflict with the local bishop; he also attacked the secular authorities, which eventually led to his expulsion from the city. A similar situation occurred in Constantinople, where the secular authorities had the holy man banished from the city, even though the depiction of these events is somewhat unclear. Writing from the perspective of the capital city, the author's view of the Antiochian authorities may have been more critical, as they did not constitute the highest governing bodies. Just as in the case of the *Life of Hypatios*, the holy man could not find his place inside the city, with the reservation that Hypatios felt uncomfortable at the capital himself, whereas Alexander was expelled by others. Alexander did however attempt to establish and direct his monastery at the very centre of the city.

The author does not offer any deeper perspective on relations between the holy man and authority figures, but it can be seen that Alexander's attitude to the authorities was negative. There are, however, certain exceptions, such as the episode with the soldiers in the Roman-Persian borderland (the holy man blessed the troops and joined them for a time). Consequently, one should not envisage a thoroughly negative attitude towards bishops and state officials. A case in point here may be the episode where some local inhabitants asked their bishops to intercede with the holy man on their behalf; the supplicants must have counted on Alexander's favourable response to the bishops' request. It is evident then that the hagiographer attempted to show positive sides of the relations between authority and the holy man, yet the most significant events in Alexander's life were full of dramatic conflicts with the church hierarchy and the secular authorities and were not crowned, ultimately, with complete success.

It is certain, however, that the ecclesiastical and secular authorities of Antioch and Constantinople had been ill-disposed to Alexander's monks due to apprehensions of possible unrest and strife fomenting among the populations of these cities. On his part, Alexander acted openly against the Bishop of Antioch and the resident *magister militum*, reproaching them for neglecting the necessary aid for the poor. The model of holiness as propagated by the anonymous author of the *VAI* is certainly somewhat different from the one described by Kallinikos: the saint is an imitator of the uncompromising Old-Testament prophets and does not pay much attention to the legality of his actions. Alexander's role model, according to the hagiographer, is the prophet Elijah with his zealous fulfilment of God's precepts, while repeatedly clashing with the authorities.

Digression

Messalian Tendencies in the *VH* and *VAI*

Considering the accusations against Alexander and the parallel points in the *Life of Hypatios* and Pseudo-Makarios' *Homilies*, let us now take a closer look at the Messa-

lian movement. Since this is not the place to discuss the nature of this still little known movement in much detail, I shall focus here on a brief outline of the history and doctrine of Messalianism.¹⁰⁸

Columba Stewart describes Messalianism as a dramatic manifestation of Syrian Christianity in Greek guise.¹⁰⁹ The name “*mšallyānē*” (Messalians) is derived from the Syriac verb meaning “to pray,” and it denotes “those who pray.” Hence, the Greek counterpart of “Messalians” was *εὐχίται*.¹¹⁰ The earliest mentions referring to Messalians can be found in Ephraim the Syrian (ca. 363–373) and Epiphanius of Salamis (the 370s).¹¹¹ The movement had probably come from Mesopotamia and disseminated into the territories of Syria, and subsequently, after some measures had been taken against them by church authorities (such as the synod of Antioch in 381–385), into Asia Minor, in particular into Lycaonia and Pamphylia. In 426, the Messalians were condemned by the synod of Constantinople, declared as heretics in the Imperial edict of 428, and, once again, by the Council of Ephesus (431). Messalians also appeared in Egypt, Africa, Persia, and Armenia.

Any reconstruction of Messalian doctrine is much more difficult than a description of the process of their dissemination.¹¹² The difficulty in recreating the ideas and the form of this movement is due primarily to the absence of any certain documents of Messalian provenance, while those which may be somehow linked with the Messalians underwent various alterations and modifications.¹¹³ The heresiological lists¹¹⁴ charge the Messalians with claiming that Satan lives in each human soul from birth.

108 The last few decades have brought many publications dealing with Messalianism, especially following the publication of Dörries’ well-known work on Pseudo-Makarios’ writings, cf. DÖRRIES (1941). Of more recent works on the subject, let us mention a very good study by Stewart, cf. STEWART (1991). See also an important study by DÖRRIES (1978), and also some other works: DÖRRIES (1970), pp. 213–227 and STAATS (1983), pp. 47–71; GRIBOMONT (1972), pp. 611–625; FITSCHEN (1998); KOSIŃSKI (2012a); there is some interesting research on connections between the Messalian doctrine and Gregory of Nyssa, cf. JAEGER (1954) and STAATS (1968). An analysis of the Messalian movement can also be found in two interesting studies on the Syrian monasticism, cf. ESCOLAN (1999), pp. 91–123 and VÖÖBUS (1960), pp. 126–139. In the recapitulation, I have mostly drawn on the works of Stewart, Gribomont, and Escolan.

109 Cf. STEWART (1991), p. 10.

110 Other Greek names for Messalians are *Εὐχόμενοι* or, stressing the experience-oriented aspect of praying, – *Ενθουσιασταί*. Cf. GUILLAUMONT (1980), col. 1074.

111 Cf. EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN, *Contra haereses* 22 (prior to 373); EPIPHANIOS OF SALAMIS, *Ankyrōtos* 13 (year 374) and *Panarion* 80 (year 377).

112 As Stewart notes, one cannot write a history of the Messalian movement, only a history of the controversy over Messalianism, cf. STEWART (1991), p. 5.

113 Cf. GRIBOMONT (1957), p. 403. Even though Messalianism is sometimes discussed solely on the basis of adversarial opinions, cf. BOBER (1985), p. 109, who calls Messalian asceticism degenerated.

114 Anti-Messalian accusations can be found in: THEODORET, *Hist. Eccl.*, 4, II (ca. 449–450); THEODORET, *Haereticorum fabularum compendium* 4, II (year 453); SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH, *Contra additiones Juliani* (ca. 527); TIMOTHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *De iis qui ad ecclesiam ab haereticis accedunt*, PG 86, cols. 45–52 (ca. 600); JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *De haeresibus* 80 (prior to 749).

He cannot be eradicated from the soul by baptism, only by way of consistent and fervent praying. A tremendous emphasis on praying is the most characteristic feature of their doctrine.¹¹⁵ After Satan is removed, the Holy Spirit or the Divine Bridegroom enters the soul, which eventually leads to the abandonment of all desires (this state is sometimes referred to as the *apatheia*).

Messalians were also accused of claiming that by attaining the highest spiritual level they experienced visions and were capable of making prophecies. Other accusations referred to their avoidance of work and the excessive emphasis they placed on sleep, which, as they asserted, was of a prophetic nature. They attached considerable significance to public testimony. They spent their time singing hymns and praying in the open air. They also led a vagrant existence. Serious accusations against Messalians included their disregard of ecclesiastical community and its structures.¹¹⁶ They were also said to hold society and its structures in contempt, e.g., by allowing slaves to join their communities. As with all heretics, they were accused of perjury, deceit, and immorality.

Such allegations, when viewed in conjunction with the Pseudo-Macarian writings, lead to the conclusion that the Messalian controversy was largely a dispute over different interpretations of certain phrases contained in Messalian writings. Their Greek texts used vivid imagery present in the Syriac language, which led to misinterpretations when used in Greek.¹¹⁷ Such a conclusion may clear up some controversial points, though, obviously, not all of them. Nevertheless, it allows for a recognition that Messalianism had been born of Syrian spiritual theology, as confirmed by the course of the controversy.

Parallels between the *VH* and Pseudo-Makarios

The question of connections between the *VH* and Pseudo-Macarian writings was examined by Bartelink. As his research results reveal, the *VH* contains many passages borrowed from the Pseudo-Macarian *Homilies*.¹¹⁸ Acknowledging the Pseudo-Macarian writings as Messalian (or semi-Messalian¹¹⁹) and the parallels between those texts and the *VH* draws attention to the question of possible Messalian influences

¹¹⁵ Little is known about Messalian praying; they seem to have abandoned thought-praying in favour of incessant recitation that could be heard by everybody and reflected, for them, a high level of spirituality, cf. ESCOLAN (1999), p. 98.

¹¹⁶ According to the Messalian doctrine, the Church did not assist in spiritual improvement and achieving a closer relationship with God, but it did not hinder these objectives. Messalians firmly criticized the Church only on the issue of baptism.

¹¹⁷ Cf. STEWART (1991), pp. 9–10.

¹¹⁸ The reverse correlation is out of the question, see BARTELINK (1968), p. 134.

¹¹⁹ On finding concurrent passages between the Messalian doctrine and the Pseudo-Macarian writings, cf. DÖRRIES (1941), pp. 425–441; DESPREZ, CANÉVET (1980), cols. 23–25; STEWART (1991), pp. 235–236; LOUTH (1997), p. 143 and DESPREZ (1999), pp. 27–29.

at the *Rouphinianai* monastery. For this reason, it is worth taking a closer look at these passages.

Bartelink identified several fragments of the *VH* that correspond to the Pseudo-Macarian texts. The first is a passage from *VH* 48 with the following phrase: “Children, being a true Christian is not an accidental thing.”¹²⁰ The same statement can be found in Pseudo-Makarios’ *Homily* 27.¹²¹ However, it should be noted that these two passages are in fact placed in different contexts. This is the most conspicuous convergence between the two texts. A certain semantic similarity can be observed between *VH* 5, 3 and *Homily* 26, 11,¹²² whereas the other parallels concern similar words or phrases, used however with completely different meanings.¹²³ An analysis of all the concurrent points indicates that the borrowings from Pseudo-Makarios’ writings cannot automatically be tied to the adoption of certain aspects of the Messalian idea. One cannot claim that the writings in question constitute anything more (for the author of the *VH*) than aids in the stylistic editing of his work.

The last question concerns the authorship of the parallel passages in the *VH*. Bartelink hypothesizes that it was not Kallinikos but Hypatios himself who drew on these writings in his teaching. Bartelink grounds this view on the statement found in the *Vita*: “Teaching us this, [Hypatios] wrote other instructions on papyrus and gave [them to us], so that thanks to them we could win the Lord’s favour.”¹²⁴ Thus, he concludes that Kallinikos had drawn directly on those written teachings and copied them literally during the composition of his work. If we were to make such an assumption, it could well mean that Hypatios used the Pseudo-Macarian writings himself, and Bartelink concurs with this hypothesis.¹²⁵

However, Bartelink’s hypothesis may be doubted, as the phrase “ἐτέρας παραγγελίας” seems to refer to other teachings of Hypatios, not incorporated in the *VH* by Kallinikos. Besides, in the Prologue the hagiographer does not mention any of the writings he used during the composition of his work as sources for his knowledge. If the author did not draw on such sources, his editing work may have been aided through the use of Messalian writings as regards formulating Hypatios’ words in the *VH*. The author’s origins in the territories of Syria, where Messalianism initially developed, constitutes an additional argument in support of this hypothesis.

120 *VH* 48, 1: Τεκνία, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τυχὸν χριστιανισμός.

121 PSEUDO-MAKARIOS, *Hom.* 27, 4: Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν τὸ τυχὸν ὁ χριστιανισμός.

122 These passages refer to man’s inner liberation (this is present in Messalianism, but in orthodoxy as well!); PSEUDO-MAKARIOS, *Hom.* 26, 11: καὶ λέγειν· ἐὰν σήμερον οὐκ ἐλυθρώθην, αὔριον λυτροῦμαι. *VH* 5, 3: ...ἀλλὰ πιστεύη ὅτι κἂν μὴ σήμερον ἐλυθρώθην, αὔριον λυτροῦμαι, κἂν μὴ εἰς τὴν πενταετίαν, εἰς τὴν δεκαετίαν.

123 A full list with an analysis can be found in: BARTELINK (1968), pp. 129–133 and WÖLFLE (1986), pp. 33–35.

124 *VH* 27, 6: Ταῦτα οὖν διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ἐτέρας παραγγελίας ἔγραψεν ἐν χάρτῃ καὶ παρέδωκεν, ὅπως διὰ τούτων εὐαρεστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

125 Cf. BARTELINK (1968), pp. 135–136. Chadwick states that the Messalians influenced Hypatios, although he does not provide any argument in support of his claim, cf. CHADWICK (1993), p. 58.

Apart from that, our previous analysis of Hypatios' teachings indicates that they were different from Messalian doctrine. Although the acceptance of Monaxios' fugitive slaves into the monastic community at the *Rouphinianai* (*VH* 21) may give rise to a suspicion that practices similar to those at the root of anti-Messalian accusations may have been present there,¹²⁶ the views preached by the holy man are far removed from Messalianism. Above all, Hypatios asserts that the fundamental tenets of the monastic life are the love of God and the love of fellow-man, and the latter manifests itself especially through good deeds done for the benefit of the poor.¹²⁷ Nothing of the Messalian aversion to labour or acts of charity is discernible.¹²⁸ He also puts an emphasis on prayer as an effective weapon against temptations and demons, but this stance forms part of the entire monastic tradition, and is present not just in Messalianism.¹²⁹ It is then justified to draw the conclusion that Hypatios' teachings as presented in the *VH* do not convey any views corresponding to the Messalian doctrine.¹³⁰

In order to resolve this question fully, however, it is worth taking into consideration the following chronological clue. As noted previously, Kallinikos' presence at the monastery of Hypatios can be dated with certainty from ca. 426 onwards. It is also known that during the mid-420s Constantinople had seen an influx of various ascetic groups from Syria, including, among others, Alexander's Sleepless Monks. These newcomers would prove a cause of considerable anxiety for the church hierarchy of the city, apprehensive as they were of any further dissemination and propagation of Messalian views. As a result, a synod was convened in Constantinople in 426 with the aim of enacting laws against Messalians. The character of those laws suggests that they were primarily directed at priests and bishops suspected of favouring this particular heresy.¹³¹ Roughly about the same time, the expulsion of Alexander and the *Akoimetoï* from Constantinople occurred.

This commotion at the capital must have made the secular authorities more sensitive to the problem of new ascetic communities. In effect, a new Imperial law was issued against heretics on 30 May 428, which also made reference to the Messalians

¹²⁶ Cf. ESCOLAN (1999), p. 108.

¹²⁷ Cf., e.g., *VH* 24, 34.

¹²⁸ Messalians were accused of professing that no alms should be given to the poor, beggars, orphans, and other people in need. They justified this absence of charity with referring to the benediction for those truly "poor in their spirit." Messalians would also disdain physical labour, cf. STEWART (1991), pp. 62–63.

¹²⁹ In Messalianism, praying made it possible to drive out the inner demon congenitally inhabiting the soul of man, whereas monasticism (and Hypatios as well) treated prayer as a weapon against demons threatening man through their temptations, therefore as if from the outside, cf. *VA* 5–7, *VH* 24, 96–103, and also ESCOLAN (1999), p. 98.

¹³⁰ For similar conclusions, see WÖLFLE (1986), pp. 141–142 and 169–170.

¹³¹ Cf. PHOTIOS, *Bibliotheca* 52. On the synod, see STEWART (1991), pp. 42–46 and GRUMEL (1932), p. 24, document 49. That synod was presided over by the Bishop of Constantinople Sisinnios and Bishop Theodotos of Antioch; the latter bishop can be found in the *Life of Alexander*, where he remains in conflict with the wandering holy man.

(also called the “Euchites” and “Enthusiasts” in the document¹³²). They were not permitted to gather or pray anywhere on Roman soil.¹³³

The coincidence of the earliest information referring to the presence of Syrian-born Kallinikos at the *Rouphinianai* and the arrival of the wave of Syrian ascetic groups at the capital seems sufficient to establish a link. In my opinion, Kallinikos came to Constantinople along with the tide of the Syrian ascetics in the mid-420s and joined the monastery of Hypatios. In Syria or among his Syrian compatriots at the capital, he would have come into contact with the Pseudo-Macarian writings (and, perhaps, some other Messalian texts as well), whose passages or certain similes he had used in his work.

Alexander Accused of Messalianism

Developments in Constantinople in the late 420s lead us to another hagiographical work, i.e., the *Life of Alexander*. The question of the Messalian accusations against Alexander *Akoimetos* has already been discussed above. Let us only recall that his expulsion from the capital and the details in the work by Neilos of Ancyra indicate that Alexander had been linked with the Messalian movement by his contemporaries. The holy man seems to have been a proponent of certain Messalian tendencies, but he would never have preached Messalian doctrine in the form found in the heresiological lists.

The Radical Monasticism of Syrian Monks

The *VH* and *VAL* cannot be seen as works propagating the Messalian ideals in the form described by the orthodox sources. However, it is possible to observe certain associations with Messalianism in the two *vitae*, whose authors had known the Pseudo-Macarian writings or adopted some aspects of the ascetic way of life that were close to Messalianism, such as the itinerant living, the avoidance of labour, and dedication to perpetual prayer. This is not in the least surprising since Messalianism may be regarded as a predominantly ascetic movement within the circles of Syrian spirituality, where it was not very difficult to overstep certain rules considered as the limits of the orthodox asceticism.¹³⁴ Likewise, stylitism was initially viewed with much distrust among monastic circles, and its acceptance was due, among other things, to the fact that, unlike Messalianism, it could not become a mass movement. Nonetheless, the boundary between classic monasticism and Messalianism was often hard to define, as Messalian trends were very much present in radical Syrian monasticism, even in that considered orthodox. Hence, accusations of Messalianism would be di-

132 Cf. *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5, 65: ...*Messaliani, Euchitae sive Enthusiastae*...

133 Cf. *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5, 65 and STEWART (1991), pp. 46–47.

134 Cf. BAKER (1974), pp. 135–141 and ESCOLAN (1999), pp. 91, 94, and 119.

rected at the *Akoimetoï*, accusations which cannot now conclusively be verified.¹³⁵ There is no doubt, however, that during the first half of the 5th century ascetics from the Eastern provinces had been coming over to Constantinople. Those newcomers, who represented a volatile, migrating, and dynamic Syrian monastic movement, were treated by the church authorities as intruders threatening the unity and stability of the Church. As a result, they were rejected by the hierarchy. In turn, the monks responded to the church authorities with distrust, which was the cause of continual conflict between the bishops and the monastic party at the capital.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Cf. ESCOLAN (1999), pp. 103 and 119.

¹³⁶ Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 229–276.

Part III: **Life of Daniel the Stylite**

1. Characteristics of the Source

1.1. The Author, Dates, and the Purpose of the Work

The *Life of Daniel the Stylite* was published by Hippolyte Delehaye twice, in 1913 and 1923.¹ However, the work had been an object of interest for a long time, and some late compilations based thereon had been published earlier.² It was only Delehaye's edition that established the original version. According to Delehaye, the original text had existed in two versions: shorter and longer. The shorter one was reputedly the earlier of the two. Both of them may have been composed by the same author, who made many deletions, emendations, and additions for his second version.³ The existence of the two versions (unquestionable, in Delehaye's view) has also been accepted by modern scholars.⁴

Nevertheless, there is some difference in opinion with regard to the precise dating of the work. Hans-Georg Beck dated the origin of the work to ca. 600 (contrary to other scholars), yet he offered no proof to support this claim.⁵ The other authors, following Delehaye, acknowledge that the *VD* was composed by a hagiographer contemporary to Daniel.⁶

The author states several times that he had been an eye-witness to the events described in the *VD* or uses the first person plural.⁷ In Chapters 1 and 12, the hagiographer makes reference to the works which he had drawn on as sources for his knowledge of Daniel. The author heard of the events "from the men who were the holy man's disciples" before him, from other trustworthy persons who had accompanied Daniel from the beginning, or, alternatively, he had been an eye-witness to the

1 *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (1913), pp. 121–216 and DELEHAYE (1923), pp. 1–147. Reference in this book is made to pages from the 1913 edition.

2 Lippomano published a Latin translation in 1556; in 1864, Malou published the Greek text for the first time, though only in Simeon Metaphrastes' version, cf. DELEHAYE (1923), p. xxxv.

3 For an extensive description of the extant manuscripts and the features pointing to the existence of the two versions, see DELEHAYE (1913), pp. 217–225; DELEHAYE (1923), pp. xxxvi–xxxix. In his edition, Delehaye also included Simeon Metaphrastes' version, dependent on the longer one, treated by Metaphrastes with his characteristic latitude.

4 Cf. LANE FOX (1997), pp. 176–177.

5 Cf. BECK (1959), p. 411. Perhaps only a mistake on his part?

6 Cf. DELEHAYE (1913), p. 225; DELEHAYE (1923), p. xxxv; BAYNES (1948), p. 6; LANE FOX (1997), esp. pp. 202–210.

7 The early hagiographical literature would frequently take note of the fact that the author heard of the events from the saint himself or was an eye-witness to them. In several *vitae*, the authors portray themselves as constant companions or disciples of the holy men. Mark the Deacon declares that he had followed Porphyry of Gaza everywhere from the day he met the holy man until Porphyry's death, cf. MARK THE DEACON, *Vita Porphyrii* 3.

events himself.⁸ In the final chapters of the work dealing with the 490s, the author begins to use the first person plural.⁹

All these clues allowed Delehayé to conclude that the author had been the holy man's disciple and an eye-witness to some of the events depicted in the *VD*. The hagiographer clearly says that he is younger than Daniel and that he does not know anything about the holy man's early years. He is well acquainted with the facts and the chronology of events, as well as with the successive bishops and emperors. The other figures present in the *VD* can also be found in various sources dealing with the contemporary period; in fact, the *VD* is not contrary to those sources. In Delehayé's opinion, it is probable that the author did not use any written sources, as his writing style is vivid and natural, thus confirming the direct nature of his knowledge.¹⁰ In *VD* 12 (in the shorter version only) the hagiographer recounts that a certain disciple of the holy man asked a painter to come and paint a portrait of Daniel, and the same disciple might also have written an account of the holy man's life. However, both the portrait and the written account were reportedly destroyed on the stylite's orders.¹¹

One recent publication attempts a more detailed answer to the question of the author's identity. Like other scholars, Robin Lane Fox is convinced that the author had been an eye-witness to Daniel's later years. He refers to the information from the *VD* that during the writing of the work Cyrus' verses in praise of Daniel could still be seen on the column,¹² quotes numerous examples of evidence from various contemporary sources, showing the correct chronology given by the anonymous author as well as the actual names and titles of the individuals appearing in the text.¹³ Nonetheless, Lane Fox is more interested in the information that is missing in the *VD*. Particularly conspicuous is the author's silence on the events that would have occurred in the period from Daniel's intervention during Basiliskos' usurpation in 476 to the early 490s, when the Emperor Zeno and Daniel died. This period of more than a dozen years is left in silence, without any comment. It is virtually impossible to believe that this pause was due to a lack of knowledge on the author's part, as this was exactly the period with which he should have been most familiar. Lane Fox rejects

⁸ Cf. *VD* 1, 122.5–7: ...ἄπερ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ μαθητευσάντων τῷ ἁγίῳ ἤκουσα καὶ ὅσα αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐθεασάμην ἀψευδῶς διηγήσομαι. and 12, 133.9–12: ...ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ μαθητευσάντων τῷ ἁγίῳ ἠκούσαμεν, ἕτερα δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν πιστῶν σχολασάντων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ ὁσίου, ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸς ὡς ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς οἰκεῖω στόματι ἐξη γήσατο,...

⁹ *VD* 91, 206.1: ...ἡμῖν δὲ προηγόρευσεν,...; *VD* 95, p. 209.30: Ἐπευξάμενος δὲ πάλιν ἡμῖν ὁ ὁσιος ἀπέλευσεν ἡμᾶς... and *VD* 96, 210.19: ...ἡμεῖς πάντες...

¹⁰ Cf. DELEHAYE (1913), p. 225; DELEHAYE (1923), pp. liv–lv; BAYNES (1948), p. 6.

¹¹ Cf. *VD* 12. The author says that the witnesses who remembered that incident were still alive. According to Lane Fox, the incident must have occurred after 470, cf. LANE FOX (1997), p. 202. Cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 139, where a portrait of Theodore was painted, yet in this case the holy man joked and blessed his own painted image.

¹² Cf. *VD* 36. Daniel's column would have survived until at least the 10th century, cf. DELEHAYE (1923), p. xl.

¹³ Cf. LANE FOX (1997), pp. 178, 199.

the possibility of the author's conscious omission of the years of the Emperor Zeno's reign, as elsewhere his opinion on the ruler is rather favourable. He seeks reasons for this particular treatment of the final years on theological or hagiographical grounds. In his omission of the events following the year 476, the author remains silent on the questions of the *Henotikon* promulgated in 482, which nevertheless, in Lane Fox's view, would not have arisen from the hagiographer's negative attitude to that document. As part of his argument, Lane Fox refers to a group of some unidentified monks (Monophysites, in his opinion) visiting Daniel and attempting to persuade him into accepting their views. Daniel told them not to become involved in disputes on Divine matters, which ought to be left for bishops to resolve, and calls for unity.¹⁴ Besides, the author does not depict Akakios in negative terms and praises Anastasius' "golden age." Lane Fox argues that all these facts would indicate that the author of the *VD* sympathized with the *Henotikon*, but would not ardently reveal his support. At the same time, the scholar notes that the hagiographer appears to have been most favourably disposed to Bishop Euphemios, whose inclinations were pro-Chalcedonian but who had been a follower of the *Henotikon* until his condemnation by the synod of 496 and his deposition. Hence the conclusion that the original text of the *VD* must have been written between 494 (Daniel died on December 12, 493) and 496, prior to Euphemios' fall. Since the hagiographer does not show much interest in the life of the monastic community formed around Daniel's column, Lane Fox concludes that the author of the *VD* would have been associated not so much with the monastic circles as with Bishop Euphemios, who may have been the inspiration behind the creation of the work himself.¹⁵

Despite such suggestions, it should be noted that the hagiographer left no clear information regarding himself. Lane Fox seems to be right in dating the composition of the work to the years 494–496, as after Euphemios had been pronounced as a heretic such a favourable depiction of this figure would have been inconceivable. Another argument for an early dating is the author's positive attitude to the Emperor Anastasius. Nonetheless, the author of the *VD*'s expressed attitude towards the various figures involved in the theological disputes does not suffice in order to place him within some definite church or court circle in Constantinople of his day. The origin of the *VD* was not inspired by any wish to speak out on dogmatic controversies. The author does not take a whole-hearted stand in favour of any side of the theological disputes; even the individuals defined as heretics lack any precise characteristics indicative of their views.¹⁶ In spite of the fact that one cannot certainly determine (as Lane Fox believes) that the monks attempting to persuade Daniel into accepting their views were Monophysites (they might as well have been those pro-Chalcedonians

¹⁴ Cf. *VD* 90.

¹⁵ Cf. LANE FOX (1997), pp. 204–210. In the scholar's opinion, the hagiographer may have been present at the Imperial court during Leo's reign.

¹⁶ For instance, Basiliskos is referred to as a "heretic" (*VD* 70), although the author does not make the nature of his heresy clear. Cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 167.

who would not have approved of the *Henotikon* promulgation), it appears that the author may have been a moderate Chalcedonian, an enemy of the Monophysite ruler Basiliskos, simultaneously favouring the Emperor Zeno, who gave his support to the decrees of Chalcedon.¹⁷

I think that the author's silence on Daniel's activity in the 480s was dictated by hagiographical considerations. He is consistent in his depiction of the stylite's ascetic and political growth. The period of Basiliskos' usurpation is the climax of the holy man's influence, which did not increase after the year 476, especially as the over-seventy-year-old stylite could no longer continue to play the same role in Constantinopolitan life as he had only several years earlier. It was therefore difficult to describe his life and activity in that period while avoiding the feeling that his significance had come to an end long prior to his death.

The objective of the work is not clearly stated. In *VD* 1, the author says that his writing was meant "for the edification and enrichment of many,"¹⁸ whereas in the last chapter he encourages the reader to follow the example of Daniel "retaining the robe of our body unstained and keeping the lantern of the faith burning."¹⁹ These passages suggest that the work was intended for a wider range of readers rather than for a monastic community, even though the hagiographer had belonged to the latter. The author does not devote much attention to the community, does not take note of the hegumens' succession, and it is not known what happened to them after Daniel's death.²⁰ The language used by the hagiographer does not provide relevant clues for the person of the author. The *VD* offers neither sophisticated Greek employing the rhetorical style nor the simple Greek of the uneducated.²¹

In my opinion, the author was a disciple of Daniel and a witness to the final years of Daniel's life. Most probably, he belonged to the monastic community at Anaplus, but he composed his work for a broader circle of readers between 494 and 496 with the aim of propagating the fame of the stylite, not for the needs of his community or for liturgical purposes. Before he became the holy man's disciple, he may have been associated with the court circles, hence his very good acquaintance with rumours and intrigues at court.

¹⁷ Cf. LANIADO (1991), pp. 166–168; LANE FOX (1997), pp. 208–210. On Zeno's position on the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, see KOSIŃSKI (2010a).

¹⁸ *VD* 1, p. 122.4: ...πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν τῶν πολλῶν.

¹⁹ *VD* 102, p. 213.32 – p. 214.2: ...καὶ ἄσπιλον φυλάττειν τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄσβεστον τὴν λαμπάδα τῆς πίστεως διατηρεῖν,... The hagiographer also states that through the writing of the *VD* he wanted to align his protagonist with the holy prophets and martyrs, cf. *VD* 1.

²⁰ Cf. SANSTERRE (1989), p. 36.

²¹ Cf. LANE FOX (1997), p. 210.

1.2. Structure

The *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae* is fairly clearly divided into three parts. It is preceded by the hagiographer's introduction (Ch. 1) and concluded with an encouragement to follow the faith and teachings of the holy man (Ch. 102). The first part is composed of Chapters 2–20, which are concerned with the beginnings of Daniel's ascetic life in Syria, his journey to Constantinople, and his subsequent settlement at a former temple, where he continued his eremitic life. This part is marked by relatively few details and a certain tendency towards stereotypical representation, analogous to the other *Vitae* discussed in the present book. The second part (Ch. 21–85) encompasses the years 460–476 and is replete with very detailed accounts largely concerned with Daniel's influence on the political life of the period; the high point is reached in a very detailed depiction of the stylite's intervention in defence of orthodoxy during Basiliskos' usurpation (476). The third part, the most general of all, spanning a period of over a dozen years, contains accounts of several miracles (Ch. 86–89), which cannot be dated with any accuracy, and recounts the visits of a number of unidentified monks who attempted to persuade Daniel to embrace their teachings (Ch. 90). This part may be considered an *argumentatio hagiographica*. The whole work is concluded with an account of the deaths of the Emperor Zeno and Daniel, both predicted by the latter (Ch. 91–101).

The structure of the work makes it clear that an overwhelming part of the *VD* is composed of the *narratio hagiographica*, while a comparatively minor part thereof is devoted to a representation of the holy man's teachings and miracles. Of course, the miracles and other aspects attesting to Daniel's holiness are present throughout the work, yet they are not taken out of the chronological sequence of the hagiographical narration.

1.3. Biographical Data

Daniel was born in a village called Meratha²² near Samosata in Syria.²³ His father's name was Elias, his mother's name – Martha. His mother had remained childless for a long time, and she owed the birth of her son to her prayers and God's grace (*VD*

²² *VD* 2, p. 122.13: Μῆραθᾶ; the manuscripts P and V state the following name of the village: Μαραθᾶ.

²³ Meratha is an unidentified village in the region of Samosata (present-day Samsat in Turkey), a town on the northern bank of the Euphrates. Samosata was one of the most important centres of the province Euphratensis. During the Persian wars, the town was often used as a base by the Roman troops. Later on, it would become an important centre of Christianity, cf. KAZHDAN (1991 I), p. 1836.

2).²⁴ When he was five years old, he was taken to the hegumen of the nearest monastery, who christened him Daniel but refused to admit him into the monastic community due to his young age (VD 3). At the age of twelve, Daniel secretly left home and joined a community of fifty monks, ten miles away from his village (VD 4).²⁵ His parents soon found him and rejoiced at his decision. Despite his young age, Daniel became a monk (VD 5).

He made much progress in his ascetic life and wished to go to Jerusalem and visit Simeon Stylites,²⁶ yet the hegumen of his monastery refused to give him permission. The opportunity arose when the Bishop of Antioch summoned “the archimandrites of the East” to come to the city. Daniel and several of his fellow monks accompanied their hegumen on his way to attend the meeting (VD 6). The synod must have taken place between 430 and 446. It is known that during this period (between 432 and 445) at least three synods had been convoked, all focused on the decrees of the Council of Ephesus of 431. In all probability, the author makes reference to one of those synods.²⁷

24 Likewise, the mother of Theodoret of Cyrrhus had been childless for a long time and she gave birth to her only son solely thanks to God’s grace and Macedonius’ intercessory prayers. However, in exchange, Theodoret was to be dedicated to God, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XIII, 16–17. The mother of Simeon Stylites the Younger had been childless for a long time, cf. *Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris* 3; in a similar manner, the mother of Euthymios, whose birth was considered a miracle, dedicated him to God, cf. *Vita Euthymii* 2. In the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, the holy man healed the childless wife of Domniziolos, cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 140. On the hagiographical motif of saints who were only sons, see also ELLIOTT (1987), p. 79.

25 Entrusting young children to monastic custody was sometimes practised in Syria. According to Theodoret, Heliodoros, a monk at the Teleda monastery, was reportedly admitted at the age of three. For his entire life, he would never leave Teleda; he used to say he did not know what a pig or a rooster looked like, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 4, whereas Peter the Galatian left home at the age of seven, cf. THEODORET, *HR* IX, 1.

26 Jerusalem was a place often visited by ascetics. For instance, the *Historia Lausiaca* mentions a man named Philoromos, who had, among other things, twice walked to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. He went on pilgrimages to Rome and Alexandria as well, cf. PALLADIUS, *HL* XLV, 4. Likewise, Sulpitius Severus, the author of the *Life of Martin of Tours*, walked to the Holy Land many times, cf. SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dialogues*, I, 8, 1. The *Life of Macrina* contains the information referring to the pilgrimages her brother, Gregory of Nyssa, had made to Jerusalem, cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Vita S. Macrinae* 1, while the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* relates that this saint had gone on pilgrimages to the Holy City and would also visit the holy men, cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 24, 50–51. For this subject, see HUNT (1982); WIPSYZKA (1995), pp. 17–28 and MARAVAL (2002), pp. 63–74. A great number of works have been written on Simeon Stylites and the phenomenon of stylitism. Let us mention some of the most important ones: DELEHAYE (1923); DELEHAYE (1908), pp. 391–392; FESTUGIÈRE (1959), pp. 347–401; PEÑA, CASTELANA, FERNANDEZ (1975); FRANKFURTER (1990), pp. 168–198; HARVEY (1988), pp. 376–394; HARVEY (1998), pp. 523–539; VAILHÉ (1897–1898), pp. 303–307; PEETERS (1943), pp. 29–71; WIPSYZKA (1979), pp. 91–117.

27 Cf. LANE FOX (1997), pp. 186–187.

On their way back, the monks stopped by the large monastery at Telanissos.²⁸ This is where Simeon Stylites had been living on his column. According to the author, some of the monks believed that Simeon's asceticism was vain ostentation, but upon seeing his hardships they were full of admiration for him (VD 7).²⁹ When Simeon told them to bring over a ladder so that the senior archimandrites could come up and kiss him, they did not want to as they were ashamed of their previous unfavourable view of Simeon. It was only Daniel who came up to the holy stylite and received his benediction and encouragement to persevere (VD 8).

Not much later, Daniel came to be considered worthy of becoming the superior of the monastery. As he considered himself to be free of all attachments, he passed over his position of authority to the next eligible candidate and left the monastery.³⁰ He went to Telanissos, where he stayed for two weeks; Simeon rejoiced at his presence and encouraged him to stay even longer. Unfortunately, Daniel could not comply with this request, as he intended to fulfil his previous resolution to reach Jerusalem (VD 9). However, he was told that the trip to Palestine was not safe at that time because of the Samaritan revolt.

Setting the date of these events is easier than in the case of the synod of Antioch. It is known that a conflict between the Samaritans and Christians erupted in the years 452–454,³¹ and this may have been connected with the incidents depicted in the VD. On the other hand, Lane Fox draws attention to another conflict, overlooked in the Christian sources, which is described in Abu'l Fath's *Kitab al Tarikh*, a Samaritan chronicle edited in 1355, on the basis of earlier sources. It recounts that during the Emperor Marcian's reign a Christian-Samaritan conflict broke out over the relics of the patriarchs. Lane Fox agrees with Crown and dates the events to 450/451, the period immediately prior to that known from the relevant Christian sources.³² This particular dating of the events would render the conflict, completely absent in the Christian accounts, more concurrent with the chronology in the VD.³³

In spite of those obstacles, Daniel would not give up on his resolution. However, a certain elderly monk, very much like Simeon in his appearance, caught up with him and advised him to change his route and go instead to Byzantium, where he would

28 Telanissos (Tellnešīn, present-day Deir Sim'ān), the settlement adjacent to Qal'at Sim'ān. On Deir Sim'ān and Qal'at Sim'ān, see TCHALENKO (1953), vol. I, pp. 205–276 and CANIVET (1977), pp. 172–180. The manuscripts P and V state that the monks left for Teleda, not to Telanissos; on this subject, cf. CANIVET (1977), p. 174 and WIPSYZKA (1979), p. 95, n. 9.

29 As some other sources report, controversies over Simeon's form of asceticism were quite frequent, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 12, 14, and LIETZMANN (1908), ch. 117, pp. 163–165. Cf. also PEÑA, CASTELANA, FERNANDEZ (1975), pp. 28–29; WIPSYZKA (1979), pp. 115–116.

30 Very frequently, living in a monastery constituted the first stage on the spiritual path of many famous holy men. For instance, Peter the Galatian began his ascetic life at a monastery in his boyhood, after which he became a hermit, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXII, 2.

31 Cf. FREND (1973), pp. 152–154.

32 Cf. LANE FOX (1997), p. 187.

33 Cf. KOSIŃSKI (2011), pp. 25–39.

see Constantinople – the Second Jerusalem, and could live the life of an anchorite (VD 10).³⁴ As the same figure had also visited him in his dream, Daniel wondered whether this was a man or an angel.³⁵ He decided to follow the advice and headed for Constantinople. When he had reached Anaplus,³⁶ a place known for St Michael's Church,³⁷ he stayed there for a week (VD 13).

Daniel once heard some people talking in Syriac³⁸ about a certain temple where demons were dwelling.³⁹ Recalling that the great hermit Antony struggled against demons, and suffered the harassment they inflicted on him,⁴⁰ he asked one of the Syriac-speaking men to show him the place. The holy man entered there, singing psalms and holding the cross in his hand (VD 14). Ignoring the demons, Daniel bolted the door shut and only left one small window open, through which he could speak to the people who came to see him (VD 15). At that time, his renown was spreading around the whole area and the people who came over were wondering how a place that had previously been inhabited by demons had become so tranquil (VD 16).⁴¹

However, the priests from St Michael's Church met with the Bishop of Constantinople Anatolios, and accused Daniel of heresy. The bishop spoke in Daniel's defence (VD 17). By that time, the holy man would have driven the demons away from the temple where he had been staying (VD 18). The clergymen of St Michael's Church appealed once again to the bishop, with a further complaint against Daniel,

34 The concept of the New Jerusalem basically emerged in the 7th century. On Constantinople as "the Second Jerusalem," see DAGRON (1974), pp. 408–409; SALAMON (1996a), p. 17 and ALEXANDER (1962), pp. 344–347.

35 On the motif of the angel, guiding or counselling the holy man, often disguised as an old man, see ELLIOTT (1987), p. 116.

36 According to Pargoire's identification, Anaplus or Sosthenion (Istinye) is situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus (present-day Kuruçeşme). Cf. PARGOIRE (1898), pp. 60–97; C. MANGO (1991b), p. 313.

37 The Church of St Michael the Archangel was one of the oldest and most venerated shrines around the capital, erected under Constantine I at the site of an earlier pagan temple, cf. JANIN (1953), pp. 351–353; DAGRON (1974), p. 396.

38 Daniel, at least in this period, did not speak Greek, as indicated by the words of the priests from St Michael's Church at Anaplus, who told Bishop Anatolios that the holy man was a Syrian by birth and they could not communicate with him (VD 17), as well as by the fact that Daniel had made a profession of his faith, in Bishop Anatolios' presence, through an interpreter (VD 19); cf. also VD 3. 10. 14. 28, where the author clearly states that Daniel communicated in Syriac. There is no information concerning Daniel's later learning of Greek, though the author does not say that Daniel had to communicate through an interpreter during the stylite period of his life.

39 Demons were blamed for the sinking of ships sailing past Anaplus, cf. VD 14.

40 Cf. VA 5–11. 13. 39–41. 51–53. On Antony's struggles with demons, cf. BAYNES (1954), pp. 7–10; DANÉLOU (1956), pp. 136–147 and ALVAREZ (1988), pp. 101–118.

41 Lives of saints often recount that anchorites lived in abandoned pagan temples or within cult circles, usually haunted by demons, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVIII, 1–5, where Talelaios built his hermitage at the site of a former pagan circle, as did another hermit, Maron, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 1 and XXI, 3. The monastery at Teleda was founded by Ammianos on the site of a pagan circle, cf. THEODORET, *HR* IV, 2. For more on Daniel's struggles with demons, see VIVIAN (2001), s. 191–197.

calling the holy man an “impostor.” Anatolios had Daniel brought into Constantinople and interrogated him. Having heard Daniel’s impeccable confession of faith, he wanted him to stay over (VD 19). At the time, Anatolios succumbed to a very serious illness and recovered thanks to Daniel’s prayers. As an expression of gratitude to Daniel, the bishop wanted to found a large monastery on the outskirts of Constantinople, yet the holy man refused and asked the bishop to allow him to stay at the place where God had guided him. As a result, Anatolios permitted him to return to his place (VD 20).

In a night vision, Daniel saw Simeon Stylites standing on his pillar and calling him to come over. Two men in white robes raised Daniel and put him on the top of the column, next to Simeon. After giving him a holy kiss, Simeon soared up to heaven, leaving Daniel on the column.⁴² When he woke up, he communicated his vision to those who were around him and they said that he had to become a stylite like the holy man Simeon. Edified by the Word of God,⁴³ Daniel accepted Simeon’s calling (VD 21). Several days later, a monk named Sergios, one of Simeon’s disciples, came from the East. He brought the news of Simeon Stylites’ death and carried the holy man’s leather tunic as a gift to the Emperor Leo.⁴⁴ As Sergios was not admitted to the Emperor, he headed towards the monastery of the *Akoimetoι* and, on his way there, heard of Daniel. He decided to meet the holy man in order to receive his blessing. When Daniel was told of Simeon’s death, he recounted his night vision to Sergios. The latter gave the tunic to Daniel and decided to stay with him (VD 22). Upon hearing of Daniel’s decision, a certain *silentarios* named Mark undertook to have a suitable pillar prepared for him (VD 23). Sergios, led by a dove, selected a proper location (VD 24), while Mark had some workers come and set up the first column (VD 25).⁴⁵ Afterwards, Daniel took his place on the top of the pillar (VD 26).

⁴² Simeon died in 459.

⁴³ According to VD 21, Daniel was a literate person. The ability to read and write was relatively widespread in monastic circles as well as among anchorites, cf., e.g., THEODORET, *HR* III, 6 and IV, 6, where Marcian and Ammianus, respectively, read the Scriptures. On the same subject, see also WIPSZYCKA (1983), pp. 19–25. For the question of Antony’s literacy, see WIPSZYCKA (1987), pp. 34–37.

⁴⁴ According to the Syriac *Vita of Simeon*, the holy man instructed his disciples to bury him in his leather garb and they complied with his request, cf. LIETZMANN (1908), ch. 123, p. 168 and PEETERS (1943), p. 59. Lane Fox says that one year had passed from Simeon’s death to Sergios’ arrival at Constantinople. He also considers whether the leather tunic (δερμοκούκουλλον), which Daniel received from Sergios, was an imitation of Simeon’s genuine garment, in which he was reputedly buried, but he leaves the question open, cf. LANE FOX (1997), p. 196. In my opinion, the tunic is a hagiographical figure similar to St Antony’s cloaks.

⁴⁵ The first pillar at Anaplus would have been “only about [as high as] two men” (...ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀνδρῶν δύο τὸ μῆκος..., cf. VD 26, p. 147.8); nothing is said, however, about the heights of the successive columns, one founded by Gelanios (VD 30–34) and two by the Emperor Leo (VD 38. 44), except for the author’s mentioning that the column founded by Gelanios was higher. The heights of Simeon Stylite’s four columns were 6, 12, 22, and 36 elbows, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 6 (according to the Syriac *Vita*, Simeon’s last column was 40 elbows high, cf. LIETZMANN (1908), ch. 120, pp. 166–167;

As the column had stood on land owned by a man named Gelanios, the owner wanted to remove Daniel from his property, but the storm devastated his vineyard and the attitude of the people around him, who considered Gelanios' conduct unjust, induced him to leave Daniel alone (*VD* 27–28), at the same time asking the holy man to allow a new column to be erected. A community of monks centred around Daniel's column, under the leadership of the monk Sergios, also appeared (*VD* 30). Although the community is mentioned only at this point, Daniel must have had disciples beforehand, at least from his time at the temple of Anapulus. Due to language-related barriers, they must have acted as interpreters and intermediaries between the holy man and the people coming to see him. Besides, they would also provide him with food. One such disciple was Marcus, the founder of the stylite's first column.

Through Gelanios, Leo I and his court heard about Daniel (*VD* 34).⁴⁶ The Emperor wished to meet the holy man and sent a message, asking Daniel to pray God to grant him a son. Thanks to Daniel's prayers, the empress Verina gave birth to their son. As a token of gratitude, the Emperor founded a third column for Daniel (*VD* 38)⁴⁷ and persuaded Bishop Gennadios to ordain Daniel a priest (*VD* 42–43). Finally, he set up a double pillar which was celebrated with a ceremony attended by the bishop (*VD* 44). Thenceforth, Daniel was mentioned in connection with many significant events. He predicted that a great fire would afflict Constantinople on 1 September 465 (*VD* 41, 46) and acted as an intermediary in negotiating a peace treaty with Gubazes, King of Lazica (465/466, *VD* 51). Also, the Emperor notified Daniel of his crackdown in the context of Ardabur's plot in 466 (*VD* 55), the imminent threat of Genseric's attack and the pre-emptive campaign against him (468–470, *VD* 56), dispatching Zeno as a military commander to Thrace (470–471, *VD* 65). All that time, the Emperor Leo would continue to treat Daniel with the utmost honour and visited him on many occasions (*VD* 49–50). This solicitude extended to the Emperor's protection over the holy man. Leo I erected a shelter against the wind (*VD* 54), buildings for the monastic community around the column and a hospice for pilgrims (*VD* 57); he also translated Simeon's relics from Antioch (*VD* 57–58).⁴⁸

After Leo's death (474), his successors, Zeno and Anastasius, continued to visit Daniel and provide him with protection (e.g., *VD* 68, 92). The most important event after Leo's death was Daniel's involvement in support of Akakios during Basiliskos' usurpation in 476 (*VD* 70–85). This is the only case, after 460, when the holy

Simeon's column was, therefore, about 16–18 m high). On the heights of other pillars, see DELEHAYE (1923), pp. cxlv–cli and PEÑA, CASTELANA, FERNANDEZ (1975) pp. 37–38.

⁴⁶ The events following on from the year 460, as these are depicted in the *VD*, are discussed in more detail further on. This passage only refers to the most important facts.

⁴⁷ Some of the other renowned stylites possessed several pillars in succession: Simeon the Elder had four columns, whereas Simeon the Younger and Lazarus, as well as Daniel, had three columns each, cf. PEÑA, CASTELANA, FERNANDEZ (1975), p. 33.

⁴⁸ On the relics brought to Anapulus by the Emperor Leo, see below.

man descended from his column and arrived at Constantinople. His role during these events was significant and constitutes the high point of the entire *VD*.

With regard to the later periods, there is very little information on Daniel's activity. The *VD* resumes its account only in the early 490s. Daniel predicted the Emperor Zeno's death in 491 (*VD* 91) as well as his own (*VD* 93). He died on Saturday, 11 December, 2nd indiction, at three o'clock (*VD* 98).⁴⁹ He was interred at Anaplus underneath the relics of the holy Old-Testament martyrs (Three Young Men): Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (*VD* 99–100), translated to Constantinople by Leo I and deposited at Anaplus by Bishop Euphemios (*VD* 92). The accounts of the funeral and the preparations for it are given in, respectively, at *VD* 99–100 and 93–98; the vividness of the description makes them unique, with very few similar examples in the contemporary hagiography.⁵⁰

VD 101 contains an accurate chronology of Daniel's life. It says that he joined a monastery at the age of twelve, where he lived for twenty-five years, after which he went on to meet with holy men and listened to their teachings for five years. At the age of forty-two, he arrived in the vicinity of Constantinople, where he lived in a church for nine years; afterwards, he became a stylite and spent a period of thirty-three years and three months on the pillar. He died at nearly eighty-four years of age.⁵¹ According to the data provided by the author, it can be assumed that Daniel was born around 410, arrived at Anaplus in the early 450s, and became a stylite ca. 460.

2. Analysis

2.1. Daniel's Relations with the Emperors

Leo I

Leo I is the most frequently mentioned emperor in the *VD*.⁵² Of 102 chapters in total, he appears in as many as 28. He is mentioned in connection with Daniel's early styl-

⁴⁹ Daniel died on December 12, 493.

⁵⁰ A notable exception is the extraordinary account of Macrina's death and funeral in the *Life of Macrina* by Gregory of Nyssa, cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Vita S. Macrinae* 22–35.

⁵¹ The length of Daniel's lifetime and the number of years spent on the column were not something out of the ordinary among the stylites, who were noted for their longevity: Simeon Stylites was over 70 years old, and of these he would have spent 37 years on the pillar; Simeon the Younger (d. 592) would have reached 75 years of age, with 69 years as a stylite; Alypius (d. ca. 620–630) was reportedly 99 years old, whereas Luke would have been over 100 years old when he died (d. 979), having lived, like Daniel before him, through the inclement weather of the region of Chalcedon, cf. DELEHAYE (1923), pp. cxliv–cxlv.

⁵² Leo I reigned from 7 February 457, until his death on 18 January 474. Before he became emperor, he had been a lower-ranking officer of Aspar, who was instrumental in Leo's accession to the throne.

ite period. On Leo's initiative, the holy man was ordained a priest; the Emperor was also helpful in establishing the monastic community centred around Daniel's pillar. However, it was not during this emperor's reign that Daniel began his activity near Constantinople. His presence at Anaplus is dated back to 451, i.e., to the reign of Marcian and Pulcheria, who are not mentioned in the *VD*, even for the sake of dating. This is surprising as these rulers are associated with the triumph of Dyophysitism at the Council of Chalcedon. Their predecessor, Theodosius II, is mentioned only once in the *VD*, in unfavourable circumstances (*VD* 31), namely in connection with Cyrus, ex-consul, praetorian prefect, and former bishop of Kotyaion in Phrygia.⁵³ The hagiographer reports that Cyrus had to go to Phrygia, as a result of Chrysaphios' conspiracy,⁵⁴ and resigned his secular offices. He was allowed to return to the capital only after Theodosius' death.⁵⁵ There is a clear link drawn here between the Emperor and Chrysaphios' action against Cyrus, who is, notably, given a very positive depiction in the *VD*. Theodosius is not referred to as "pious" (nor by any other equally positive term), in contrast to Leo who is depicted as "Leo of most pious memory,"⁵⁶ also in the context of events surrounding the aforementioned Cyrus.⁵⁷

It is difficult to specify the reasons for the absence of Theodosius II, Marcian, and Pulcheria from the *VD*. Certainly, their religious beliefs are not a plausible reason, as they all held different views: Theodosius sympathized with Monophysitism, whereas his successors were, as noted above, hostile to Eutyches' teachings. Perhaps at the very beginning of his activities, before he was to ascend the column during Leo's reign, Daniel was not sufficiently well-known to arouse any interest at the Imperial court,⁵⁸ as opposed to the case of the ecclesiastical authorities, who were alarmed at the hermit's presence at the church of Anaplus.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, this can-

For more information on Leo I's reign, see BURY (1958), pp. 314–323 and STEIN (1959), pp. 353–362.

⁵³ On Cyrus, see below.

⁵⁴ Chrysaphios was a eunuch who served as a *spatharios* in 443–450. He was a close friend of Theodosius II. His influence on the Emperor was enormous; for many years, he controlled the Eastern Empire's government, intrigued against Pulcheria and Cyrus, and caused the exile of the latter in 443. This moment marked the beginning of his greatest political influence. He supported his friend Eutyches and the Monophysite movement, which would have an effect on Theodosius II and his decision to convoke the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus. He also played a part in the appointment of Anatolios to the See of Constantinople in the place of the deposed Flavian. Chrysaphios was executed after Theodosius II's death, cf. PLRE, pp. 295–297; HOLM (1982), pp. 191–194, 205–208; SCHOLTEN (1995), pp. 248–249; GOUBERT (1951), pp. 303–321.

⁵⁵ *VD* 31, 150.23–24: ...μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως... The passage dealing with Chrysaphios and Theodosius is omitted in version O.

⁵⁶ *VD* 31, 150.26–27: ...τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου τὴν μνήμην Λέοντος... The expression used in reference to the late pious Christians and saints, cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 874.

⁵⁷ Cyrus died during Leo's reign, cf. PLRE, pp. 336–339.

⁵⁸ It is known from other sources that both Theodosius and his sister showed much interest in venerable monks and hermits.

⁵⁹ Cf. *VD* 17. 19. 20.

not be considered certain, as one further passage relates that, prior to taking up his place on the pillar, Daniel had been visited by Olybrius, the empress Eudoxia's son-in-law, to whom the holy man foretold her return from Africa ca. 462.⁶⁰ This proves that as early as the latter half of the 450s Daniel had become a well-known figure.⁶¹ It would seem that the author is not much concerned with Daniel's pre-stylite period in the vicinity of Constantinople.

The Emperor Leo is mentioned for the first time in *VD* 22, in a very loose connection with Daniel. The hagiographer recounts that a certain monk named Sergios, one of the disciples of Simeon Stylites, arrived at the capital from the East to present the blessed Leo with Simeon's leather tunic.⁶² Unfortunately, the Emperor was preoccupied with some public obligation and Sergios was not granted audience. However, the author readily notes that this had been pre-ordained by God, so that Daniel could receive the "coat of Elijah."

This brief passage offers a fairly positive representation of the Emperor Leo. In order to avoid giving the impression that the holy man Simeon had been disregarded by the Emperor, the author adds that this had happened according to God's will, as He had other plans with respect to Sergios. Besides, the Emperor had to attend to his official duties: – εἰς δημοσίαν χρείαν. Calling the Emperor "blessed" would also testify to the hagiographer's favourable attitude towards Leo.⁶³

In turn, *VD* 25 relates that the land on which Daniel's first column had been erected belonged to Gelanios, who was Leo's *castrensis sacrae mensae*.⁶⁴ This account is further continued in *VD* 27–28: Gelanios was told that Daniel's column was standing on his land. He reproached Daniel for having it set up there without his consent and appealed to the Emperor and the Archbishop with a complaint. The Archbishop Gennadios responded to the complaint, whereas the Emperor made no reply whatsoever. Nevertheless, Gelanios (*VD* 27) continued reproaching Daniel for, among other things, ignoring the Emperor and the Archbishop.⁶⁵

The next chapter (*VD* 28) recounts the further course of events. Gelanios repeated his demands, but his companions considered his claims unjust and said that "the

⁶⁰ *VD* 35.

⁶¹ On the other hand, the story of Olybrius' visit to Anaplus is a second-hand account (it is told by Eudoxia); the author does not provide an account of the visit itself.

⁶² *VD* 22, 143.8–9: ...τῷ μακαρίῳ Λέοντι [versions P and V add – τῷ βασιλεῖ]...

⁶³ Simeon Stylites died in 459, cf. LIETZMANN (1908), pp. 231–233. The motif of handing over the garment makes reference to the master-disciple relationship and the episode from 2 Kings 2:8–15, where Eliseus received Elijah's coat, and can often be found in hagiographical literature; cf. *VA* 91, where the leather worn by St Antony is given to Serapion, and JEROME, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae* XVI, where, in turn, Antony was entrusted with St Paul's tunic. For more on this subject, see ALEXANDRE (1996), p. 86 and WIPSZYCKA, WIŚNIEWSKI (1999), p. 235.

⁶⁴ *VD* 25, 146.21: ...εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος...

⁶⁵ *VD* 27, 148.11–12: ...τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἀρχιεπισκοπον παρελογίσω,...

Emperor himself is a pious man and this man is orthodox (...).⁶⁶ Significantly, the individuals close to Gelanios regarded the Emperor to be pious, which was seen as a warranty for Daniel, an orthodox ascetic receiving his support. This is further corroborated at the close of *VD* 28, where Gelanios described the whole situation to the Emperor, who felt compassion for Daniel. This is the first time in the *VD* where Leo I received any news of Daniel, aside from Gelanios' complaints in the previous chapter, which were of a different nature. At that time, the Emperor had heard of him as an intruder on Gelanios' land, but he was to find out very soon that the stylite was a godly and venerable man. The Emperor's reaction was very favourable towards the holy man, as can be seen at the chapter's close. Might Leo have heard of Daniel previously? In view of the above-mentioned case of Olybrius, this is possible, although it was only the erection of the column which provided an incentive for the development of beneficial relations between the ruler and the stylite. It is clear that Daniel's form of asceticism was of paramount importance to the hagiographer's view of his holiness.

The next passage referring to Leo is the above-mentioned *VD* 31, which is concerned with the figure of Cyrus. Let us recall that Leo is referred to as "of most pious memory", unlike the Emperor Theodosius II.

Another relevant fragment, *VD* 34, makes a reference to the events described in *VD* 27–28.⁶⁷ Having seen the miracles, Gelanios appeared before the Emperor to tell him, and the court, everything in detail. In *VD* 34, the Emperor was told of the holy man's mortification and his miracles. These events reached a conclusion in Chapter 38. The hagiographer states that the Emperor Leo,⁶⁸ already informed by many people of Daniel's miracles, had long wished to meet the holy man in person. He told Sergios to go and deliver a message to Daniel, asking the stylite to pray and beg the Lord to grant the Emperor a son. Daniel fulfilled his request and prayed, and the empress Verina gave birth to a son.⁶⁹

This event can be dated with accuracy, as Leo's son (whose name is unknown) was born on 25 April 463.⁷⁰ Therefore, the Emperor's first direct contact with Daniel took place in the summer of 462, more than twelve or so months after the initial con-

⁶⁶ *VD* 28, 148.16–17: ...Διότι, (...) καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐσεβὴς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὀρθόδοξός ἐστιν... This and all subsequent passages from the *Life of Daniel* according to the translation by Elizabeth Dawes.

⁶⁷ The account contains a number of insertions regarding the jurist Sergios, Cyrus, and Gelanios.

⁶⁸ *VD* 38, 155.12–13: ...εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης ὁ μακάριος Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς...

⁶⁹ Emperors would often seek the holy men's aid or assistance in various family matters. The *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* contains an account of the saint healing the Emperor Maurice's son, cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 97. In the *Life of Porphyry*, the hagiographer notes that Theodosius II was born thanks to the holy man's prayers, cf. MARK THE DEACON, *Vita Porphyrii* 44.

⁷⁰ The date of the birth of Verina and Leo's son is known only from an extant horoscope, according to which "the king's child" was born in Byzantium on 25 April 463, cf. NEUGEBAUER, VAN HOESSEN (1959), pp. 141–142; PINGREE (1976), pp. 146–147; DAGRON (1982), pp. 274–275; CLOVER (1987), pp. 16–17; LANE FOX (1997), p. 189; LEE (2000), p. 49.

flict between Daniel and Gelanios. These accounts were also confirmed by a number of figures, probably Eudoxia or Cyrus, who may have been in contact with the Emperor, or by other individuals from the court. In the hagiographer's view, the delay was not due to the Emperor's distrust, as he had wished to meet the holy man in person for a long time. Leo's belief in the stories told by the eye-witnesses of the miraculous events at the column led him to forward his request to the stylite, in hopes that his wife might give birth to their long-awaited son. However, the contact between the holy man and the Emperor was still indirect: Leo did not call on the stylite in person, sending only his messenger. The author stresses the fact that the Emperor's faith had been rewarded by God (his long-awaited son was born) and the holy man had successfully interceded with God on behalf of the Emperor, too. The *VD* evades mentioning the fact that the son of Verina and Leo only lived for a little more than five months. In the same chapter, Sergios is referred to as *apokrisiarios*,⁷¹ i.e., the holy man's legate at the Emperor's court. Having his own representative at the Imperial court attests to the high stature of the stylite, as in the 5th century only bishops and hegumens could have their own *apokrisiarios* at the court.⁷²

As a pious and righteous ruler, Leo did not hesitate to honour Daniel immediately and showed his gratitude by having a third column erected for the holy man,⁷³ thus acknowledging his role as an intermediary in that miraculous event. The year 463 marks the beginning of the Emperor's closer relations with Daniel, which were to continue on until Leo's death. Nonetheless, the author shows that the ruler's trust in Daniel became stronger only gradually, as can be observed in *VD* 41, where it is said that God allowed the holy man to know that the City would be punished with God's wrath coming down from heavens. Daniel communicated this message to Archbishop Gennadios and the Emperor,⁷⁴ imploring them to order intercessory prayers. However, as the feast of Christ's Passion had been drawing near, neither of them was willing to agitate or upset the masses, and, after the holiday, Daniel's warning would be no longer on anybody's mind.

It is therefore evident that Daniel was yet to attain his eventual position of influence. The hagiographer notes, for the first time, that the holy man decided to contact the Emperor. Ultimately, ignoring the holy man's warning would lead to disastrous consequences, as depicted in *VD* 45. The hagiographer treats Daniel as a patron of the City appointed by the Providence.⁷⁵ The holy man would become a third figure,

⁷¹ *VD* 38, 155.14: ...τὸν ἀποκρισιάριον...

⁷² Cf. MAGDALINO (1991b), p. 136.

⁷³ Cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 54, where the Emperor Maurice presented the holy man's monastery with an annual supply of 200 *modii* of maize, a chalice, and a platter, in thanks for Theodore's prayers and his prophecy on Maurice's accession to the throne.

⁷⁴ *VD* 41, 157.19: ...τῷ βασιλεῖ [Λέοντι – P, V]...

⁷⁵ According to the hagiographer, Daniel resided on the column at Anaplus of God's will; cf. *VD* 35, 153.25–26, where the empress Eudoxia, very much impressed by Daniel, proposed that his column be relocated to her estate; the holy man declined and said: "(...) the Lord has once planted me here."

beside the Emperor and the Archbishop, entrusted with the care of Constantinople. Failing to heed Daniel's warnings would be tantamount to ignoring the warnings of God Himself, who would speak through the holy man, and would result in punishment, a lesson for the Emperor to avoid making the same mistake again.

Although in *VD* 41 the Emperor and the Archbishop responded to Daniel's warnings in a similar manner, the next chapter makes it clear that Gennadios and Leo approached the holy man in different ways. The Archbishop's position (as depicted in *VD* 42–43) is discussed in more detail in the passage dealing with the relations between Daniel and the ecclesiastical authorities. At this point, let us only take note of Gennadios' reluctance to satisfy the Emperor's wish to have the stylite ordained a priest. The *VD* relates that Leo,⁷⁶ aware of how many blessings he owed to Daniel's intercession, sent his messenger to Archbishop Gennadios, telling the latter to meet with the holy man and honour him with priestly ordination. The Archbishop was reluctant to comply and forwarded his excuses to the Emperor. In response, the indignant ruler sent the same messenger back to Gennadios, telling him that if he intended to ascend the hill to meet the holy man, he should do so. Apprehensive, the bishop went to Anaplus and ordained Daniel a priest.⁷⁷

In this passage, the hagiographer makes reference to numerous blessings. Apart from the circumstances connected with the birth of the son of Verina and Leo, there are also mentions of other, unfortunately unidentified, events that occurred to Emperor thanks to the holy man's intercession. In the hagiographer's view, the Emperor's indignation at Gennadios' delay points to his high regard for Daniel. The sovereign played a significant role in appointing many of the highest-ranking church officials. His personal involvement in having Daniel ordained a priest may have been indicative of the stylite's very high rank, nearly equal to that of a bishop.⁷⁸ Besides, Leo would have attended to the whole matter personally; in the last sentence of *VD* 43, the author states that following Daniel's ordination the Archbishop descended the hill, entered the palace, and made a report to the Emperor. In this account, Leo was present from the beginning to the end: he initiated, followed through, and concluded the action, and, finally, was given a report as to the outcome.

This is clear from *VD* 44, which complements and concludes the theme of the previous two chapters. When Leo⁷⁹ heard the report on Daniel's ordination, he rejoiced and visited the holy man very soon thereafter. He asked for a ladder so that he could ascend the pillar and receive the stylite's benediction.

This is the first instance of the holy man's personal contact with the Emperor. Leo's visits to Anaplus would become something of a custom thereafter. It is impor-

⁷⁶ *VD* 42, p. 158.4–5: ...ὁ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης μακάριος Λέων... Versions O and V omit the word μακάριος, replacing it with βασιλεὺς.

⁷⁷ For an account of this event, see *VD* 42–43.

⁷⁸ On the Emperor's role in patriarchal and episcopal appointments in the Byzantine Empire, see DAGRON (1996), pp. 318–322.

⁷⁹ *VD* 44, 161.3–4: ...εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης ὁ μακάριος Λέων... In versions O, P, V only ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...

tant to note that it was the Emperor himself who decided to visit the stylite: he went up the hill and climbed up the ladder to reach the top of the pillar. To put it briefly, he had to make this effort in order to elevate himself from the level of the ordinary human experience up to the one where the holy man resided. The author does not speak of any attempt on Daniel's part to obtain the privilege of the Emperor's visits or his subsequent priestly ordination. The Emperor was the one who decided to undertake these actions, while Daniel would remain in a passive position. Up on the hill and faced with the holy man's column, it was as though Leo had lost some of his Imperial authority and power. At Anaplus, he was not the one who would give orders; he only asked for a ladder so that he could climb to the top of the pillar. The place he visited was beyond the realm of his earthly domain. Of course, it must be noted that Leo's request, unlike that of Gennadios,⁸⁰ was fulfilled immediately. In any event, he was still the emperor and the hagiographer is well aware of the fact throughout.

In the further passages, it can be seen that the Emperor continued to play an active part, climbing up the ladder to the top of the pillar and asking Daniel for permission to touch his feet. It is extraordinary to observe those self-humiliating gestures by "the ruler of Christendom" before the stylite, who had not even invited Leo to climb up the column, but only agreed to Leo's initiative. The Emperor bowed down to the holy man's feet and made a gesture of veneration.⁸¹ He saw the mortified and sore feet of the holy man, and admired his perseverance. In God's name, he begged Daniel to allow him to put up a second column, so that the stylite could take up his place on it. The Emperor's reaction was predictable: as a devout sovereign, he was very much impressed by Daniel's ascetic mortifications. The hagiographer does not say anything about the holy man's response to the Emperor's conduct. There is no mention of any objection on his part. Daniel continued to remain passive and would not resist the Emperor's idea of setting up another column for him.

When it had already been installed in the right place, the Emperor Leo, the Archbishop Gennadios, as well as nearly the entire population of the City and the people living across the strait, arrived there. As Leo would continue to make his visits, Daniel had a bridge of planks set up between the two columns and walked over to the other one.

The hagiographer depicts Daniel's elevation as a patron of the City. All those present there, the Archbishop, the people of Constantinople, and even those from across the Bosphorus, accepted this act in a manner resembling the acclamation of a new emperor, with the difference that the ceremony took place outside the

⁸⁰ Cf. *VD* 42.

⁸¹ The gesture of kissing the Emperor's feet, as well as his breast or hands, as part of the *proskynesis*, belonged to the Imperial ceremonial. All these gestures expressed veneration given to the sovereign. The kiss during the *proskynesis* ceremony was reserved for a strictly defined group of dignitaries and officials. On the *proskynesis*, see TREITINGER (1938), pp. 84–94; MCCORMICK (1991b), pp. 1738–1739.

City (at Anaplus), not at the Hippodrome. Another difference is that on the occasion of imperial acclamations, the new emperor appeared before the people, whereas in the case of Daniel, Constantinople in its entirety, represented by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the inhabitants of the City, gathered to meet the holy man. Daniel's patronage would further be validated by numerous instances of healing, referenced in the chapter's conclusion. The miracles affirmed Daniel's holiness and the legitimacy of his elevation.⁸²

From that moment on, Daniel would be portrayed in his role as Constantinople's patron. The Emperor Leo turned up at the foot of the pillar on many occasions. The holy man's words were always taken with due earnestness. They would no longer be ignored or forgotten, as was the case in *VD* 41.

The circumstances in *VD* 41 are also mentioned in the information concerning the great fire of Constantinople in 465 (*VD* 45).⁸³ After the fire, the inhabitants were very frightened.⁸⁴ The author appears to suggest that they felt apprehensive about the possible further consequences of the disregard shown to the stylite's exhortation. What can be seen is an attempt to propitiate God for this unfortunate negligence: Leo⁸⁵ and his wife, empress Verina,⁸⁶ appeared together at the foot of the pillar and glorified God's servant. Leo admitted that a sin had been committed, saying: "This wrath was caused by our carelessness; I therefore beg you pray to God to be merciful to us in the future."⁸⁷

The following pattern, characteristic of the Old Testament, can be identified here: the people committed a sin (in this case, ignoring the words of God's servant), this would result in God's wrath, then the people (here represented by their rulers) would beg for God's mercy, and they would do so through a reliable intermediary (Daniel). The author states that Leo's entreaty for the holy man's protective prayers

⁸² The chronological arrangement of the *VD* makes it possible to ascertain that Daniel's elevation took place between the Easter and September of 465, owing to the fact that it would have been preceded by his prophecy of the great fire of Constantinople, which is described in the following chapter; the relevant section beginning with the words: Μετ' οὐ πολὺ... (*VD* 45, 162, 5).

⁸³ The fire reportedly started on September 2, 465, in the proximity of the arsenal, near the Neorion, caused by an old woman's mishandling of a burning candle. The fire spread eastwards to as far as the old temple of Apollo, southwards to the Forum of Constantine, and westwards as far as the Forum Tauri. The conflagration raged for three days. For more details on the fire, see BURY (1958), pp. 321–322. Notably, Daniel was not the only one to whom the prediction of the great fire of 465 would be attributed. Markellos *Akoimetos* also predicted the outbreak of this conflagration, cf. *VM* 31. Likewise, the author of the *Life of Saint Elisabeth* (p. 258) states that, in a way similar to Daniel the Stylite at Anaplus, the protagonist of his work foresaw the impending calamity.

⁸⁴ *VD* 46.

⁸⁵ *VD* 46, 164.4: ...ὁ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης μακαριώτατος Λέων... In versions O, P, V ...ὁ εὐσεβῆς βασιλεὺς Λέων...

⁸⁶ *VD* 46, 164.4–5: ...λαβὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν...

⁸⁷ *VD* 46, 164.6–8: Παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν ἡ ὀργὴ αὐτὴ συνέβη· εὐξαί οὖν παρακαλῶ, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴλεως ἡμῖν γένηται.

was accepted, as the Emperor and his consort received Daniel's benediction in anticipation of the God-given protection.

From *VD* 46 it is worth taking a closer look at another noteworthy passage that occurs shortly after the arrival of the Imperial couple and Leo's request: "Now consider, dear reader, how the words of the holy man's mother have come true. He has now received adoration of the two lights his mother had seen over her bed in her night vision."⁸⁸ The hagiographer compares Leo and Verina with light; they are very high above, yet these two lights pay their homage to the holy man, thus acknowledging his sanctity, and superior position, in ensuring the protection for the City as well as his intermediary role between the people and God. Daniel exercised his spiritual authority through his prophetic and thaumaturgic abilities, assuring the faithful that his authority was given by God, not by the Evil One.⁸⁹

The events depicted in *VD* 48 demonstrate how much importance the Emperor Leo attached to the holy stylite. Following a terrible storm, when the holy man's life was in jeopardy, Leo was so concerned for his safety that he sent his *cubicularius* Andrew⁹⁰ to make sure that Daniel had not sustained any harm as a result of the vicious wind. This can be seen as evidence of the Emperor's solicitude for the stylite's safety. Another sentence in the text also demonstrates the intensity of the Emperor's

88 *VD* 46, 164.8–11: Σκόπησον, ἀγαπητέ, πῶς ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς τοῦ ὁσίου μητρός. Ἐδέξατο γὰρ τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν δύο φωστήρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης τῆς προνημονευθείσης αὐτοῦ μητρός κατελθόντων ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός. In this passage, the author refers to the vision of Daniel's mother, described in *VD* 2: she had seen two great lights descending from above and coming down to rest near her. The *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 3 recounts that upon his conception the holy man's mother saw a shining star entering her womb in her dream. According to the *Life of Macrina*, it was before the saint's birth that her mother had seen in her dream a beautiful figure who had christened the child Thecla, cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Vita S. Macrinae* 2. On various miraculous signs occurring before the holy person's birth, see also ELLIOTT (1987), p. 77.

89 Dean Miller interprets this account in terms of solar and lunar symbols of Persian origin. In his view, the column elevated Daniel to the level of clandestine knowledge, solar power, and all the other symbolical and metaphorical associations of the sun. He cites the following arguments in support of his hypothesis: Daniel's incessant exposure to sunlight, the vision of the lights, and the candles offered by the Emperor for Daniel's funeral. The stylite would have become "the living light," cf. MILLER (1970), pp. 210–212. In my opinion, interpreting the *VD* in terms of magic is implausible, as the work is void of any conscious reference to solar or lunar symbols.

90 *Cubicularius* is a general term referring to the palace eunuchs serving at the *sacrum cubiculum*. For the most part, they were freedmen of Persian or Caucasian descent. The *cubicularii* influence at the court was due to the fact that they were the only figures with regular and direct access to the emperor, and they would exercise control over the private and unofficial access of individuals from outside the Imperial court. They also held important functions in the Imperial ceremonial, were often granted high-ranking military or administrative offices and entrusted with important diplomatic missions. This high status enabled them to exert influence over certain emperors and accumulate considerable fortunes. Their influential position was begrudged and detested by the aristocracy, cf. HOPKINS (1963), pp. 62–80; GUILLAND (1967), vol. 1, pp. 269–283; JONES (1986), pp. 567–571, KAZHDAN (1991 g), p. 1154; SCHOLTEN (1995). Andrew is an otherwise unknown figure, cf. PLRE, p. 87.

devotion to the holy man: having heard that Daniel's life had been exposed to danger because of the column's faulty construction, Leo became angry at the architect who had designed it and wanted to have him executed. The Emperor hurried to Anaplus to have a look at the damage, and when he saw what the holy man had gone through, he was amazed, while all those who were present there glorified God. Leo was going to take severe measures against those who had put Daniel's life at risk. It can be seen that Daniel became a figure of great importance to the Emperor, who had first sent his messenger and then went to Anaplus himself. The architect's fault was then considered to have been very serious, as Daniel's death in consequence of a fatal accident would have stripped the Emperor and the City of his much-needed patronage and protection (cf. *VD* 46 above). One more fact confirms Daniel's stature: upon news of the Emperor's intention to punish the architect so severely, he asked Leo to refrain from doing him any harm. The Emperor fulfilled his request and pardoned the architect, ordering him to make the necessary repairs to the column. The hagiographer makes it clear that the holy man was able to bring about a change of the Emperor's sentence and, in pardoning the culpable man, Leo became an exemplar of clemency and mercy.⁹¹

In the following chapter (*VD* 49), the author provides a broader view of the relations between the ruler and the holy man. When Leo was on his way back from Anaplus, he had an accident. He fell off his horse and suffered some minor injuries. He was angry at the *comes* named Jordanes, who was in charge of the imperial stables. The latter hurried to see Daniel and begged him for help. Upon hearing the news that the holy man was concerned about his health, Leo sent his first *cubicularius*, Kalapodios⁹² to reassure him. Let us quote the Emperor's words *in extenso*: "Your angelic presence must not have any anxiety about me, for through your holy prayers I was preserved unhurt, and I know now why I had that accident, for when visiting your Holiness I ought not to have mounted my horse so long as you could see me; but, I beg you, pray earnestly to God to forgive me for my ignorance."⁹³ The hagiographer goes on to stress that the accident happened as a result of the Devil's scheming against Leo. The accident itself was indeed very dangerous; the horse stood up on its hind legs and then fell down to the ground on its back, dragging down the mounted Emperor, while the curved edge of the saddle struck Leo in the face, slightly scratching his skin. Moreover, the crown he was wearing slipped off his head, and some of the pearls worn over his neck had been torn off. Let us also note that the author does not comment on the accident himself, but has the Emperor interpret

⁹¹ In the hagiographer's view, this characteristic is of great importance to the ideal of the ruler; cf. the opinion on Zeno expressed in *VD* 91.

⁹² *VD* 49, 168.3: ...Καλαπόδιον τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ κουβουκλίου...

⁹³ *VD* 49, 168.4–9: Μηδεμίαν λύπην δόξη ἔχειν ὁ ἄγγελός σου περὶ ἐμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὁσίων ὑμῶν εὐχῶν ἀπληγὸς διεφυλάχθην· καὶ νῦν οἶδα, πόθεν ταῦτα ὑπέστην· οὐκ ἔδει γάρ με πρὸς τὸν ὁσιόν σου ἄγγελον ἀνιόντα ἐνώπιόν σου ἵππῳ ἐπιβαίνειν· ἀλλὰ δυσώπησον τὸν Θεὸν συγχωρήσαι μου τὴν ἀγνοίαν.

it. In doing so, he would probably have wished to augment the credibility of the above interpretation of the incident and to emphasize the ruler's humility towards the holy stylite. Initially, the Emperor found Jordanes guilty of the accident, but would eventually become reconciled with him, drawing different conclusions from the misfortune, as the above citation indicates. Daniel's response to the Emperor's words is not known, but the fact that the hagiographer does not mention any denial of Leo's statement proves that he concurred with the Emperor's opinion.

Such an interpretation entails far-reaching consequences. In this particular account, the Roman Emperor placed himself in a position inferior to that of Daniel. The expression "your angelic presence"⁹⁴ attests to the Emperor's extraordinary respect for the holy man. He acknowledged the patron of the City (and of the Emperor as well) as a representative of an authority superior to Imperial power. Proceeding on foot in the area within Daniel's eyesight would have been an exceptional gesture of recognition, especially as the distance must have been a long one. The column was situated on a hill and afforded a very expansive view of the road. Furthermore, the author notes that the Emperor had been wearing the crown on his head (suggestive of the ruler's solemn attire worn on the occasion of the visit), which would also be a visible sign of the Emperor's high esteem for Daniel. The stylite's charismatic authority was affirmed as higher than Leo's, and, more significantly, the Emperor himself confirmed Daniel's special relation through his own acceptance. In the hagiographer's view, the ideal ruler should be able to recognize the limits to his authority and the holy man's superior position.

The crown slipping off the Emperor's head, a symbol of dethronement, is of profound importance to the hagiographer. However, as he could not bear such a debasement of the sovereign, he attempted to depict the incident in terms of the Evil One's malicious intent to inflict misfortune on the ruler for his devotion to Daniel. The author recounts that the Devil was defeated. Despite Leo's fall, the Devil was to be defeated with the Emperor's erection of a palace near St Michael's Church. The Emperor was to spend most of his time there, becoming Daniel's constant companion. The hagiographer's account makes an attempt to represent the ruler as almost a disciple of the holy man, also stressing that as soon as he could see the holy man he would dismount, both on his way to and leaving Anaplus.⁹⁵ The Devil wanted to cause Leo's

⁹⁴ On the use and the meaning of this particular phrase in the works such as the *VD*, see GRÉGOIRE (1929–1930), pp. 641–644. This expression was fairly rare, primarily used in reference to monks and priests. Cf. also FESTUGIÈRE (1961), pp. 115–116, n. 56, and SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 65. It is mentioned in the *VD* two more times, in Ch. 35 and 71. It also appears in the *Life of Alexander Akoimetos* (*VAI* 40). Famous ascetics would be often regarded as angels or half-angels, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXVI, 23, where a certain deacon asked Simeon Stylites if he was a human or an incorporeal being, or *HM* X, 19, where, after three years of asceticism, Paternouthios would have become an angel. On the *vita angelica*, see NAGEL (1966), pp. 34–48.

⁹⁵ *VD* 50.

downfall, yet the effect of the incident at Anaplus would turn out to be the exact opposite.

The author also notes that from then on the figure of Daniel was to be incorporated into the court ceremonial. This can be seen clearly in *VD* 51, which describes the arrival at Constantinople⁹⁶ of the ruler of the kingdom of Lazica,⁹⁷ Gubazes (Gobazes). According to the hagiographer, Leo took him along to call on Daniel, and the king was very much impressed by the stylite.⁹⁸ In Daniel's presence, the rulers discussed political issues and he mediated an agreement on a mutually satisfactory treaty.⁹⁹ The *VD* depicts Daniel as the Emperor's counsel, a person to whom matters of state were entrusted. As an adviser he was both reliable (his mediation bringing results) and just (the treaty between Leo and Gubazes was mutually satisfactory; it placed neither party at a disadvantage). In the final passage of *VD* 54, the author notes that all of the Emperor's foreign guests, whether kings, emperors, or ambassadors, would accompany Leo on a visit to the holy man, often asking to visit Anaplus of their own accord. The Emperor never ceased to take pride in the holy man and showed him to all, extolling his endurance and ascetic mortifications. As a matter of fact, visits to Anaplus would become a custom, practised as part of the ceremonial of hospitality at court. This was not a single or isolated example, but a routinely observed practice, Gubazes' visit serving as an example illustrating the phenomenon. The ability to show off a potent patron of the City proved to be an important asset in the Emperor's talks with visitors.

Another instance of Daniel acting as Leo's adviser can be found in *VD* 56. This refers to the news that Genseric, king of the Vandals, was planning to attack Alexandria. The message dismayed and alarmed the Emperor, the Senate, and all the people of Constantinople. The Emperor¹⁰⁰ decided to send the *spatharios* Hylasios¹⁰¹ to Dan-

⁹⁶ *VD* 51, 169.7: ...πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Λέοντα.

⁹⁷ Lazica (Λαζική) was a kingdom with its capital at Archaiopolis, whose kings had received their insignia from Byzantium; the region was situated south-west of the ancient Colchis, along the eastern coast of the Black Sea. In the 4th century, it extended its territory northwards, towards Abkhazia. It is difficult to trace the process of Christianization in this area. Formally, the kingdom would have been baptized only under king Tzathios (Ztathios) in 522 (*Chronicon Paschale* s. a. 522, JOHN MALALAS, *Chronographia* XVII, 9), although the inhabitants of Lazica were considered Christians earlier (PRO-COPIUS, *De bello persico* II, 28 and *De aedificiis* IV, 7). The *VD* account of Gubazes' visit to Daniel's pillar is, in all probability, the earliest testimony referring to a Christian ruler from that country, cf. BRAUND (1994), pp. 269–273; CHMIELECKI (1997), pp. 343–360 (with no reference to the information contained in the *VD*); LANG (1983), pp. 520–521 and GARSOÏAN (1991), p. 1199.

⁹⁸ The relevant fragment of *VD* 51 is discussed in more detail below.

⁹⁹ The chronological arrangement of the *VD* implies that the event would have taken place in 465 or early 466, shortly after the fire of Constantinople, cf. PLRE, p. 515.

¹⁰⁰ *VD* 56, 175.5–6: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...

¹⁰¹ In Late Antiquity, the term *spatharios* referred to a member of the imperial bodyguard (or, possibly, a private guard). The *spatharioi* formed part of the *koubikoularioi* and would be eunuchs. They emerged under Theodosius II, during whose reign the *spatharios* Chrysaphios had actually come to

iel with the news of Genseric's plans and the Emperor's intention to send his army to Egypt. However, the holy man reassured Leo and said that God had allowed him to know that neither Genseric nor anybody else would set their eyes on Alexandria. Nonetheless, he left the question of dispatching the troops to Egypt at the Emperor's discretion: "(...); but if you wish to send an army that is a matter for you to decide; (...)." ¹⁰² Hylasios communicated the stylite's words to the Emperor and they proved to be accurate.

Thus, at the moment when a significant strategic decision had to be made, and with the province of Egypt under threat, Leo consulted Daniel. The holy man, acting as a trustworthy protector and a counsel of the state, is represented as an intermediary between the Emperor and God, who, in turn, would reassure Leo through His servant. Nevertheless, Daniel did not seek to resolve the Emperor's political issues; in the author's view, the holy man was not to replace the ruler who continued to exercise his prerogatives, but rather to empower the ruler and buttress his decisions through spiritual authority. That is the reason why Daniel left the issue at the Emperor's discretion. Daniel only revealed the actual threat. However, should the Emperor decide to send his troops to Egypt, "(...); the God, Whom I adore, will both preserve your Piety unhurt and will strengthen those who are sent against the enemies of the Empire." ¹⁰³ The hagiographer concludes this account by saying that Daniel's words were, by the grace of God, to come true. ¹⁰⁴

The final passage where Daniel is portrayed in his role as Leo's adviser is in *VD* 65. The hagiographer recounts that the Emperor ¹⁰⁵ had given his daughter Ariadne in

act as the head of the state administration, cf. JONES (1986), pp. 567–568, KAZHDAN (1991 m), pp. 1935–1936; SCHOLTEN (1995), p. 72. Hylasios is an otherwise unknown figure, cf. PLRE, p. 575.

102 *VD* 56, 175.13–14: ...εἰ δὲ βούλει ἀποστέλλειν ἐξέρκετον, τοῦτο ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώμῃ ἔστω...

103 *VD* 56, 175.14–17: ...ὁ δὲ Θεός, ὃ λατρεύω, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑμῶν ἀθλιπτον διαφυλάξει καὶ τοὺς ἀποστελλομένους ἐνισχύσει κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς βασιλείας.

104 This fragment poses a certain difficulty for the historian. The editors usually argue that the hagiographer is not correct at this particular point, linking the events under the holy man's column with the naval campaign led by Basiliskos in 468, which ended in the Romans' defeat, cf. DAWES, BAYNES (1948), note to *VD* 56, p. 80, FESTUGIÈRE (1961), notes 105–106, pp. 130–131. There is information, however, pointing to a second expedition, dispatched from Egypt by land; according to Theophanes, the campaign was successful and forced the Vandals to ask for peace (THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 5963, cf. also COURTOIS (1955), pp. 200–204, KAEGI (1968), p. 45). This campaign took place in 470. The identification of the events described in the *VD* with that second campaign against the Vandals is asserted by Lane Fox, who holds that during the campaign of 468 there was no risk of Genseric's attack on Alexandria. Such a risk might have arisen only following on from the defeat of Basiliskos' fleet in 468. On this interpretation, the *VD* passed over the humiliating defeat of 468 and only mentioned Leo's second campaign of 470; cf. LANE FOX (1997), pp. 190–191. I agree with this opinion, the hagiographer describing the event which was to be the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy.

105 *VD* 65, 184.7: ...ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς Λέων...

marriage to Zeno and, at the same time, appointed him as consul.¹⁰⁶ Soon thereafter Barbarian riots erupted in Thrace, and the Emperor appointed Zeno as *magister utriusque militiae per Thracias*.¹⁰⁷ Leo embarked on a solemn procession to meet with Daniel and communicated that he was sending Zeno on an expedition to Thrace. He entreated the holy man to pray for Zeno to be preserved in safety. Daniel replied that if Zeno had the Holy Trinity and the invincible weapon of the Holy Cross by his side, he would return unscathed. At the same time, Daniel foretold a conspiracy that would put Zeno in a serious danger, yet he would nonetheless return unharmed.¹⁰⁸

Once again, at the moment when an important decision had to be taken (in this case, appointing Zeno as *magister utriusque militiae per Thracias* and dispatching the troops to Thrace after the outbreak of the riots), Leo determined to meet with Daniel. The visit was not a private one, since he set out at the head of a formal procession, as an emperor on an official visit in an entourage of his subjects. It is the holy man who would give counsel to the Emperor and a blessing to the army marching out on a campaign. Daniel did not conceal the fact of a conspiracy being plotted against Zeno; after all, it was the holy man's duty to speak the truth, even when it was upsetting and unpleasant for the Emperor himself. As the author remarks further on, this particular prophecy would also come true, of course. In *VD* 65, Daniel continued to act as an intercessor with God, to whom the benevolent sovereign entrusted his army and asked for a benediction for himself and all those present there with him.

106 It is commonly believed that the marriage of Ariadne and Zeno took place at the turn of 466 and 467, whereas Zeno's consulship is dated to 469, cf. PLRE, p. 1201. Drawing on the *VD*, Baynes dates the marriage to 468, while Festugière asserts that the marriage of Ariadne and Zeno was falsely associated by the hagiographer with Zeno's consulship; on the other hand, Lane Fox proposes that the assumed date of the marriage be corrected and set at 469. In his opinion, Ariadne had previously been given in marriage to Patrikios, Aspar's son, who was made *Caesar* in 468. As these two events must have coincided, the marriage of Ariadne and Zeno would have been impossible before that date. It was only Zeno's rise to prominence at Aspar's expense that altered the situation and resulted in Ariadne being taken away from Patrikios and given in marriage to the Emperor's favourite. For that reason, Zeno's marriage most likely coincided with the year of his consulship (469). The date of the marriage, 466/467, is determined on the basis of the information given in John Malalas' work (JOHN MALALAS, *Chronographia* XIV, 47), saying that Leo II, the son of Ariadne and Zeno, died in November of 474 at the age of seven. According to Lane Fox, the *VD* is correct in stating that Leo II died after a period of three years, which, as the scholar says, would indicate the boy's age. It appears then that Leo II would have been born in 470/471, cf. BAYNES (1925), pp. 398–399; FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 139, n. 130; LANE FOX (1997), pp. 191–192. In my opinion, the marriage of Ariadne and Zeno took place in 468, and their son was born in 469, cf. KOSIŃSKI (2008b), pp. 209–212.

107 Most probably, Zeno's appointment took place in 467/468; he succeeded Basiliskos, cf. PLRE, p. 1201. The unrest in Thrace erupted in 469, cf. KOSIŃSKI (2007), pp. 298–299. On the Goths in Thrace in that period, cf. BURNS (1984), pp. 55–57 (the author does not show much concern for the Gothic-Roman relations in Thrace in the 460s and 470s).

108 The conspiracy in question was hatched among some soldiers who had been bribed by Aspar, cf. PLRE, p. 1201; BURY (1958), pp. 318–319 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), pp. 67–68.

A similar event, where the Emperor is shown at the head of a solemn procession to Anaplus, can be also found in an earlier section of the work (VD 55). After his successful crackdown on the conspiracy of Ardabur, one of Aspar's sons, Leo¹⁰⁹ arrived at Anaplus with Zeno and provided the holy man with a full account of the circumstances of Ardabur's plot and Zeno's loyalty during the whole affair.

Just as Archbishop Gennadios (cf. VD 43) had come to Leo to give him a full report on events in connection with Daniel's priestly ordination, the Emperor went to Anaplus and informed the holy man of all these political issues. Having heard of the events in question, as well as of what had happened to Jordanes (the figure mentioned in VD 48), Daniel blessed them both before their return to Constantinople. In this chapter, the hagiographer includes some elements that are similar to certain aspects of an imperial triumph, such as the ceremonial-religious procession, leading the ruler to the holy man's pillar, not to the church. The Emperor is presented as having defeated the revolt through the stylite's intercession.¹¹⁰

The author also claims that Leo, a pious and righteous ruler, was not merely intent on reaping the benefits from the holy man's presence near the capital, but also took care of his safety and health, endeavouring to repay the blessings that the Emperor and the state received from the stylite.

In VD 52, the hagiographer recounts that a violent storm nearly proved fatal to Daniel, while a little further on (VD 54) he goes on to say that the Emperor, informed of the danger that the holy man had been exposed to, considered it improper to leave him standing bare and unprotected up on the column. In consequence, he decided to meet with the stylite and implored him to agree that a small shelter (a sort of protective iron fencing) be made for him. Initially, Daniel objected to the proposal, citing the example of Simeon Stylites, but the Emperor eventually succeeded in persuading the holy man and the fencing was installed.¹¹¹

A similar pattern including the Emperor's request, Daniel's initial refusal, and, following on from the ruler's insistent argumentation, Daniel's eventual consent, can be found in VD 57. In response to Daniel's prophecy on the imminent Vandal attack on Alexandria, the Emperor¹¹² wished to express his gratitude and asked the holy man to give his consent for the erection of lodgings to accommodate the monks and other visitors who were coming to Anaplus to visit the stylite. Daniel objected, saying that Simeon Stylites would not have allowed any buildings nearby, and

¹⁰⁹ VD 55, 174.19–20: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...

¹¹⁰ On Jordanes, see below. On Ardabur's plot, see SCHARF (1993), pp. 217–218. The events in question took place in 466. On the Christianization of the ceremonial of the Imperial triumph, cf. MCCORMICK (1986), pp. 100–111.

¹¹¹ The Emperor's argumentation is also of interest, see VD 54, 173.14–16: ...ἀλλὰ θέλησον πολλὰ ἔτη ὑπουργῆσαι ἡμῖν· μὴ οὖν ἐφ' ἅπαξ φονεύσης ἑαυτόν, καρπὸν γὰρ ἡμῶν ἔδωκεν σὲ ὁ Θεός.

¹¹² VD 57, 175, 19: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...

requested the Emperor that Simeon's relics be translated from Antioch instead.¹¹³ As Leo persisted in his request, Daniel finally accepted. The hagiographer has the Emperor explain that it was true that Simeon had no building at all, but “ (...), nor did people go up to him for so many different needs but only to pray and to be blessed; whereas you suffer annoyance in many ways from those who are perplexed over matters of State. Through them I receive many letters from you and rejoice to do so, for they bring me much profit. And so let that come to pass which I wanted when I made my request.”¹¹⁴

In this particular passage, the hagiographer highlights Daniel's political role and his significance for the Emperor Leo which was greater than that of Simeon Stylites who played no part in affairs of state. Unlike Simeon, Daniel resided on the top of his column at Anaplus, near Constantinople, and found himself dealing with various political issues, his solutions to those problems proving beneficial to the Emperor and the state. These circumstances gave rise to the need, expressed by the Emperor, to erect a whole complex of buildings, including Simeon's shrine, a monastery, and a hospice for pilgrims and other visitors. Leo carried through his initiative in order to show his reverence for the holy man as well as to express his gratitude. As a righteous ruler, he appreciated the blessings afforded by the stylite's intercession. He showed no hesitation then when Daniel asked him to have the relics of Simeon Stylites translated from Antioch, the relics underscoring the high rank of this new monastic centre.

The hagiographer's account of the solemnities connected with the translation of Simeon Stylite's relics to Anaplus can be found in *VD* 58. The ceremony was conducted by the Bishop of Constantinople and attended by a great multitude of people. The author reports that many healings occurred during the translation of the relics, and that immense crowds of people arrived at Anaplus to receive Daniel's benediction.¹¹⁵ Leo I's ardent veneration of the holy relics is also attested in *VD* 92, where it is said

113 This is in reference to the events described in *VD* 52–53: after that terrible storm, the disciples found Daniel with no clothing, as it had been torn away by the wind. They were very worried for the holy man, who was all covered in ice.

114 *VD* 57, 176.8–13: ...οὐδὲ διὰ τοιαύτης χρείας ἀνήρχετό τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ μόνον εὐξασθαι καὶ εὐλογηθῆναι· αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους ὄχλησιν ὑπομένεις ἐπὶ τῶν συνεχόμενων ἐπὶ πράγμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πολλὰ σου ὑπομνηστικά δεχόμενος χαίρω· προξενούσι γάρ μοι καὶ μισθόν· γένοιτο οὖν ὅπερ καὶ εὐχόμενος ἡβουλήθην.

115 This passage is discussed in more detail below. The question of the translation of St Simeon's relics remains quite unclear. On the one hand, the *VD* provides the information referring to the translation of his body as well as an account of the ceremonies accompanying that event; on the other, there is also a mention that it would continue to remain in Antioch. Delehayé assumed that only some part of the relics would have been brought to Constantinople, cf. DELEHAYÉ (1923), p. lvi. It is therefore surprising to find out that Daniel wished to rest underneath the relics of the holy martyrs (*VD* 92), with no mention of Simeon's relics at all. Regardless of the actual facts, the monastery under the Emperor's guardianship should have possessed some venerable relics, cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 100, where it is said that the holy man's monastery received the relics of St George.

that Leo¹¹⁶ had also brought relics of the three young martyrs from Babylon, Hana-niah, Azariah, and Mishael, to Constantinople.¹¹⁷ The author makes it clear that the good emperor must show his concern for the shrine and the monastery around the holy stylite's column. As an Imperial monastery, it ought to house relics that would attract large crowds of pilgrims.

There is just one section of the *VD* which might initially be viewed as an account of a conflict between the holy man and the Emperor Leo, namely the events described in Ch. 60 – 61. *VD* 60 recounts that the Emperor heard of a man named Titus from Gaul who commanded a well-trained military unit. He decided to grant the rank of *comes* to Titus, on the condition that the latter join the Emperor's service. Subsequently, in accordance with his customary practice, he told the man to go and see Daniel to receive his blessing. However, unexpectedly, and apparently influenced by the holy man's teachings, Titus decided to withdraw from the world and became one of the monks at the monastery near Daniel's pillar, where the stylite agreed to admit him.¹¹⁸

The story is continued in *VD* 61. Having heard of Titus' choice, Leo¹¹⁹ became angry and sent his messenger to Titus and Daniel with his objections. Titus boldly replied through the same messenger that he had died for the world, and for the Emperor, while the holy man would speak on his behalf. Daniel acted in a much more diplomatic manner, addressing a letter, with his advice, to Leo, and asking him earnestly in the following words: "You yourself need no human aid; for owing to your perfect faith in God you have God as your everlasting defender; do not therefore covet a man who to-day is and tomorrow is not; for the Lord doeth all things according to His will. Therefore dedicate thy servant to God Who is able to send your Piety in his stead another still braver and more useful; without your approval, I never wished to do anything."¹²⁰

116 *VD* 92, 207.16 – 17: ...εὐσεβοῦς τὴν μνήμην Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως...

117 Information relating to the Three Young Men can be found in many sources. There are Georgian and Armenian versions of an earlier Syrian account (unfortunately now lost) saying that the relics were found in Babylonia by a Jewish man, after which they passed into Christians' possession and were placed at a certain monastery in Babylonia during the reign of Bahram (most likely, Bahram V (421 – 439)). Around the mid-5th century, the relics were deposited in Jerusalem. If the relics had indeed become famous by the first half of the 5th century, Leo might have brought them to Constantinople from Jerusalem, or, alternatively, directly from Persia; in that particular period, the Persian king Peroz maintained friendly relations with Leo I, the relics having been housed, as noted above, at a monastery in Mesopotamia, cf. STONE (1973), pp. 111 – 123; SCHIPPMANN (1990), pp. 41 – 45; LANE FOX (1997), pp. 197 – 199. The relics of the Three Young Men would have been housed at St Romanos' Monastery in Constantinople, cf. MAJESKA (1984), p. 329.

118 For more on Titus' conversion and his associations with Daniel, see below.

119 *VD* 61, 180.9: ...ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς...

120 *VD* 61, 180.20 – 26: Αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπίνης βοήθειας οὐ χρίζεις· ἔχεις γὰρ διὰ τὴν τελείαν σου πρὸς Θεὸν πίστιν Θεὸν τὸν αἰώνιον ὑπερμαχοῦντά σου· μὴ οὖν ἐπιζήτει ἀνθρώπων σήμερον ὄντα καὶ αὐριον οὐκ ὄντα· ὁ γὰρ Κύριος οἰκονομικῶς πάντα ποιεῖ· προσάγαγε οὖν τὸν σὸν οἰκέτην τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ

Let us take a closer look at Daniel's words. Significantly, they make reference to the ruler's godliness, as he should value God's protection more than all other support. At the same time, he did not rule out the possibility of reaching a compromise on Titus. Just as Hypatios in his conversation with the ex-consul Monaxios,¹²¹ so too Daniel made his conduct over such a potentially contentious question conditional upon Leo's final decision, whose will Daniel ultimately would not wish to oppose. It was obvious to the hagiographer, however, that the holy man's words should make the Emperor reconsider his stance owing to his "perfect faith". In the chapter's conclusion, the author states that Leo was content with Daniel's words and sent him a message, thanking him and allowing Titus to remain under the stylite's authority.¹²² As the hagiographer seems to suggest, Leo acknowledged that Daniel possessed a specific authority, his own jurisdiction, although the passage does not clearly state the nature or extent thereof. Possibly, the reference may have been simply to an authority resembling that of a hegumen, which would extend over those who were members of a monastic community. However, a different kind of authority may have been at issue as well, the one I have called "spiritual", even though in this passage Daniel acted as the Emperor's adviser. The ruler listened to Daniel and obeyed his advice; for this reason, the reference may have been to Daniel's authority as Leo's counsel, though there is not enough evidence to resolve this question with any certainty.

In some ways complementary to the events discussed above, the beginning of *VD* 63 intimates that every time the Emperor visited the holy stylite, he would also call on Titus, whose mortifications he admired, asking him for his prayers. As the author notes, prudence and the willingness to yield by all concerned enabled the Emperor to gain yet another spiritual protector.

The life of a good ruler, such as was, in the hagiographer's view, the Emperor Leo's, may be summed up in one sentence (*VD* 67) referring to his death: "As time went on it befell that the pious Emperor Leo the Great fell sick and died; (...)." ¹²³ Calling Leo "the Great," the only such instance in the *VD*, was probably intended to make a distinction between Leo and his grandson,¹²⁴ and not primarily to give an appraisal of the Emperor, although this too cannot definitively be rejected.¹²⁵ The author's

δυνατός ἐστιν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἀνδρεῖότερον καὶ ἐπιτηδεύστερον ἀποστεῖλαι τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ· χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης οὐδὲν ἠθέλησα πράξαι.

¹²¹ Cf. a discussion of the *VH* in the present book.

¹²² *VD* 61. The author uses here the Greek word ἐξουσία, denoting, among other things, power, jurisdiction, domain, dominion, and also *patria potestas*, cf. LIDDELL, SCOTT (1996), p. 599.

¹²³ *VD* 67, 185.9–10: Ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἀρρωστήα περιπεσεῖν τὸν εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα Λέοντα τὸν μέγαν,... Leo I died on January 18, 474, at the age of 73, possibly of dysentery, cf. PLRE, p. 664 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), p. 71.

¹²⁴ On the usage of the adjective μέγας, see SCHREINER (1971), pp. 175–192. On the equivalent use of the term *Magnus* in Latin, see SALAMON (1981), pp. 107–122.

¹²⁵ Leo I would reappear once again in *VD* 66. This chapter relates political events, without any direct association with the holy stylite. It says that Zeno and Ariadne, the Emperor Leo's daughter,

opinion on Leo I is very positive; he is consistent in referring to the Emperor as εὐσεβής, εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης, μακαριώτατος, εὐσεβέστατος, μακάριος.

Leo II

After Leo I's death, his grandson Leo II succeeded to the Imperial throne. In the chapter discussed above (VD 67), the hagiographer does not say anything about the new ruler's attitude towards the holy man. He only states that Leo I had left the throne to his grandson, Leo II, and after three years the Lord took the young emperor¹²⁶ into His Kingdom.¹²⁷

Zeno

Leo II was succeeded by his father Zeno.¹²⁸ The author provides much more information on him. He is mentioned for the first time in VD 55, in the context of Ardabur's plot. The hagiographer recounts that a certain Isaurian named Zeno approached the Emperor and showed him some letters written by Ardabur, *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*,¹²⁹ proving the latter man's treacherous dealing with the Persians. In consequence, Leo removed Aspar's son from his office and appointed the afore-

named their new-born son Leo. It also mentions Aspar's conspiracy against Leo (VD 66, 185.2: ...τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι...), which led to Aspar's fall. Afterwards, Leo I crowned his grandson emperor. This event prompted Zeno to return from Chalcedon to Constantinople, and to appear at the Imperial palace. In the relevant passages, Aspar is depicted in very negative terms, whilst, as the author says, God had been on Leo's side. The events described in this chapter took place in 471. The actual course of the events is different from the author's account, cf. BURY (1958), p. 320; VERNADSKY (1941), pp. 67–70, and STEIN (1959), p. 361.

126 VD 67, 185.17: ...τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ νήπιον βασιλέα Λέοντα...

127 According to other sources, Leo II died after ten months of his joint reign with his father, Zeno, in November of 474, cf. THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, *Epitome* 400, THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 5966–5967, JOHN MALALAS, *Chronographia* XIV, 46–47. Cf. also KOSIŃSKI (2009), p. 30. The VD is the only source providing a different date, cf. PLRE, p. 665, apart from Victor of Tunnuna, according to whom Leo II was to have been hidden away by his mother Ariadne from Zeno, who allegedly wanted to get rid of him, and was to live at a monastery until as late as Justinian's reign (VICTOR OF TUNNUNA, *Chronica* s. a. 475.1). This mention is not confirmed by other sources and is completely implausible, cf. CROKE (1983), pp. 81–91. Child mortality in the Byzantine Empire was high (over 50%), cf. DENNIS (2001), p. 3.

128 VD 67. Zeno descended from Rousoumblada in Isauria; his original name was Tarasikodissa. After his arrival at Constantinople in 466, he changed his name, choosing the name of his well-known Isaurian compatriot, consul in 448, *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem* in the years 447–451. Zeno was born between 425 and 430. In all probability, his first wife's name was Arcadia, with whom he had a son also named Zeno. His second wife was Ariadne, the Emperor Leo's daughter, with whom he had a son, Leo II. Cf. BROOKS (1893), pp. 209–238; HARRISON (1981), pp. 27–28; BURGESS (1990), pp. 117–118; PLRE, pp. 1199–1202 and KOSIŃSKI (2007), pp. 289–304.

129 VD 55. Ardabur held that office in the years 453–466, cf. PLRE, p. 136.

mentioned Jordanes in his place.¹³⁰ At the same time, he also appointed Zeno as *comes domesticorum*.¹³¹ At the close of *VD* 55, it is evident that Daniel would have given his blessing to all those decisions, including Zeno's promotion to *comes*. Nonetheless, no indication of any closer relations between Zeno and Daniel can be found in this chapter. The hagiographer does not even say if Zeno had been present at Anaplus at the time of Leo's visit there in connection with his son-in-law's appointment. Jordanes is depicted here in much more favourable terms, whereas the reference to Zeno is only complementary to the account of Ardabur's affair. Also missing are any positive or negative terms with regard to the figure of Zeno; there is nothing except for the words: ...ἐκεῖνος παραγίνεται τις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὀνόματι Ζήνων... (*VD* 55, 173, 22–23). At the time, Zeno would not yet have established any direct contact with the holy man.

This only occurred following Zeno's marriage with Ariadne, daughter of Leo I and Verina. The author provides his account of this event in *VD* 65 and goes on to note that the Emperor made Zeno consul at that time.¹³² Shortly thereafter, when the Barbarian disturbance erupted in Thrace, Zeno was appointed *magister utriusque militiae per Thracias*.¹³³ On that occasion, the Emperor Leo paid a visit to Daniel, begging him to pray for Zeno and the campaign. I have already discussed this passage above.

Another chapter that deals with Zeno offers only a few historical facts with no connection to Daniel. The author relates that when Zeno¹³⁴ had been away on the campaign in Thrace, his wife Ariadne gave birth to their son, Leo. He goes on to say that after Aspar's removal from office and the young Leo's Imperial coronation, Zeno felt confident enough to leave Chalcedon, cross the strait, and return to Constantinople. He entered the palace and met with Leo I. In this short passage, the hagiographer ignores Zeno's role in the removal of Aspar. The Isaurian is depicted as a weak-willed person, retreating to Chalcedon for fear of his enemy, and, subsequently, feeling confident enough to return to the capital only after Aspar's elimination. The information given in *VD* 67 is similar. I have already referred to this in connection with the account of Leo I's death and Leo II. The author reports that the Senate made Zeno co-emperor,¹³⁵ as Leo II was still too young to sign official documents.

¹³⁰ Cf. *VD* 49.

¹³¹ Most probably, the events reported in *VD* 55 took place in 466 or 467, cf. Kosiński (2007), pp. 294–295.

¹³² Zeno's consulship took place in 469, cf. PLRE, p. 1201.

¹³³ In 469, cf. PLRE, p. 1201 and Kosiński (2007), pp. 297–298.

¹³⁴ *VD* 66, 184.26: ...τῷ πατρικίῳ Ζήνωνι... Patrician was a high-ranking dignity introduced by Constantine the Great as an honorary title without any particular administrative function, cf. KAZHDAN (1991 h), p. 1600. See also MATHISEN (1991), pp. 191–222.

¹³⁵ The Senate made Zeno co-emperor on January 29, 474; cf. STEIN (1959), p. 362 and Kosiński (2010a), pp. 71–72.

Thus, Zeno was crowned emperor, and three years later, upon Leo II's death, he was to become the sole ruler of the Empire.

It is only in VD 68 that any information pertaining to the holy man's relation with Zeno can be found. This chapter also provides an appraisal of Zeno's rule. In his account of the early years of Zeno's reign, the hagiographer notes that the Emperor's rule had been managed well, as God willed it, while the state enjoyed a time of peace and order. The Churches lived in peace and unity, but the perennially envious and malicious Devil would have sown the seeds of unjust hatred in the hearts of a number of people who called themselves Zeno's relatives, notably Basiliskos, Armatos, Marcian, and several other senators.¹³⁶

In the hagiographer's view, therefore, Zeno's rule was satisfactory, for the state functioned as it should, and there was no social unrest or religious dissension. On the face of it, this is once again the image of a good and just ruler. This auspicious situation would be ruined through intrigue initiated by the Evil One, as reflected in Basiliskos' conspiracy. The author stresses that Basiliskos' and his followers' hatred of Zeno was not justified. It is noteworthy that the conspiracy began almost immediately after Leo II's death, thus the period of Zeno's sole reign would have been too brief to have caused any impact on the state of the Empire.¹³⁷ This positive appraisal of Zeno's rule would seem to be the hagiographer's way to underscore the evil that Basiliskos had done with his conspiracy against the Emperor.

Having found out about the conspiracy, Zeno met with the holy man and confessed everything. Daniel consoled him saying that all things already predetermined for him must come to pass. He also predicted that Zeno would have to go into exile and his life would be in such a danger that he would be forced to eat grass to survive.¹³⁸ Afterwards, however, those who banished him would wish for his return, and would, in due time, summon him back;¹³⁹ Zeno would then regain his honour and glory, and he would never again lose them in his lifetime.

According to the hagiographer's account of the situation, instead of rallying his forces to confront the conspiracy or manoeuvring in order to ensure the preserva-

136 On Basiliskos' conspiracy and usurpation of 475, see below.

137 Leo II died on November, 474, whereas Basiliskos would come to power in Constantinople on January 9 of the following year; cf. STEIN (1959), p. 363 and KOSIŃSKI (2009), p. 30.

138 The author makes reference here to the Book of Daniel, where the prophet Daniel foretold that Nebuchadnezzar would be banished; on his exile, he would be forced to eat grass and drink dew-drops, cf. Dn 4: 22.

139 In 476, Illos deserted Basiliskos and joined Zeno's forces. Subsequently, Basiliskos dispatched Armatos with all the troops from Thrace and Constantinople in his command to halt the advance of Zeno's army. However, Armatos made a deal with Zeno and joined up with the Emperor's forces on the condition of being appointed *magister militum praesentalis* and his son Basiliskos as *Caesar*, cf. BURY (1958), pp. 392–393 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), pp. 99–101. Most probably, Marcian had joined Zeno as well, cf. PLRE, p. 717; STEIN (1959), p. 364. Zeno's return from exile was also reportedly foretold to him by St Thecla in her prophetic vision, cf. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 8. See also a commentary in: ALLEN (1981), p. 128. On St Thecla and her shrine, see DAGRON (1978).

tion of his power, the Emperor went to Anaplis to meet with Daniel, the only person-age to help him. In this respect, he followed in the footsteps of Leo I. This was the beginning of actual relations between Daniel and Zeno, as the holy man would become the intermediary between the Emperor and God, by whose Grace he foretold the ruler's future. In a similar vein, the continuation of the narrative resembles the relationship between Daniel and Leo. The Emperor thanked the holy stylite for his words and returned to the capital after receiving his blessing. The author points out that Zeno believed in Daniel's prophecy, just as Leo I had; for his part, Daniel approved the ruler's attitude and blessed him. In the holy man's eyes, it was Zeno who was the legitimate successor of Leo, not his enemies.

The following chapter (VD 69) is a depiction of related political events. It deals with Basiliskos' usurpation and Zeno's flight (with his wife Ariadne) to Isauria, the latter event in consequence of the mortal danger he faced at the capital. On the one hand, the author remarks that the Emperor had once again not shown courage in his escape from Constantinople,¹⁴⁰ but, on the other, he justifies the Emperor's move with the argument that his life had been in danger. Besides, Zeno's passive role in the situation at hand was to be seen as a confirmation of the fact that he had put his trust in Daniel's words. He need not then have resisted what was bound to happen anyway. In the author's eyes, the holy man was to play a pivotal role in the important decisions that were to be taken by the Emperor, and the Emperor should follow the holy man's guidance even if it meant being banished from the capital.

Zeno would reappear only in VD 85, where he is shown returning from his exile. As in VD 67, the author's opinion on the Emperor's rule after his return to the throne is positive: from then on, the Church had not been harassed, whereas the state's strength and glory was on the rise.¹⁴¹ It is obvious that such a positive assessment of Zeno's reign is meant to emphasise the bad conditions prevalent in the Empire during Basiliskos' usurpation, and to express a very critical view of his attitude to the orthodox Church. The hagiographer restates his opinion that all those events

140 Zeno is accused of cowardice and unbelligerent attitude by a number of other sources as well, see MALCHOS, *Fragmenta* 16; PHOTIOS, *Bibliotheca* 242, 169; JOHN LYDOS, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* III, 45; EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 3.

141 Contrary to the information given by the hagiographer, the time of Zeno's reign after the fall of Basiliskos' usurpation was not free of political unrest. In 479, another usurpation took place, when Marcian pronounced that his marriage to Leontia, Leo I's younger daughter, rendered his rights to the throne greater than Zeno's (arguing that Ariadne had been born before Leo I became emperor, while Leontia was born as the reigning emperor's daughter). This usurpation was defeated, and so would be the revolt of Illos and Leontios in 484 (Illos was ultimately defeated in 488), cf. BROOKS (1893), pp. 219–231; STEIN (1949), pp. 15–20 and 28–31; ELTON (2000), pp. 393–407; BURGESS (1992), pp. 874–880 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), pp. 103–106, 147–150.

had taken place in fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy, as Zeno would himself say to the holy man. From then on, the Emperor would on many occasions visit Anaplus.¹⁴²

Nevertheless, this positive appraisal of Zeno and his reign is not as evident as the passages discussed above might suggest. First of all, the author does not dedicate much space in his work to the Emperor; he appears only five times in the *VD* during the course of his reign, this being a reign of almost twenty years. For the most part, he is mentioned in several accounts of political developments with no direct link to Daniel, and was mentioned only three times in connection with the holy man himself. The author never refers to him as "pious," "of pious memory," "blessed," etc, most often he was called simply "Zeno" or "the emperor."¹⁴³ Despite the hagiographer's clear statement that Zeno visited the holy man on many occasions, no details of those visits can be found in the *VD*. Certain assumptions related to the structure of the work, already discussed in the background information to the source, might have played a part in the formulation of their relations.

The above conclusions are apparently justified by *VD* 91, where Daniel predicted Zeno's death.¹⁴⁴ Initially, the holy man began to communicate to the Emperor, through those who came to Anaplus frequently,¹⁴⁵ a number of vaguely or obliquely expressed messages. Eventually Daniel warned him overtly that he would be rewarded for his good and bad deeds, at the same time reassuring the ruler that he would deserve his reward for his good deeds in Heaven, provided he abandoned his vices.¹⁴⁶

142 The author's positive attitude towards Zeno can be seen, for instance, in *VD* 82, where Daniel foretold to a patrician woman named Herais that she would conceive and give birth to a son who would be named Zeno. This prophecy was made during Basiliskos' usurpation.

143 During his reign: *VD* 68, 185.24: ...τοῦ βασιλέως Ζήνωνος..., 186.1: ...αὐτῷ..., 186.12: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...; *VD* 69, 186.21: ...Ζήωνα...; *VD* 85, 200.14: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων..., 200.14: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...; *VD* 91, 205.22: ...τοῦ βασιλέως Ζήνωνος..., 205.26: ...αὐτὸν..., 205.29: ...αὐτὸν..., 206.1: ...ἐκείνου..., 206.2: ...τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (in the context of Ariadne)... Only versions O and P, in *VD* 91, add ...τοῦ μακαρίου... before Zeno's name. *VD* 91 is a characteristic chapter in this regard, as after a fairly indifferent reference to Zeno, the author refers to Zeno's wife, the empress Ariadne, as: ἡ φιλόχριστος Ἀριάδνη.

144 A few holy men predicted the deaths of emperors, cf. PALLADIOS, *HL* IV, 4, where Didymos the Blind predicted the Emperor Julian's death (the death of Julian would have been foretold by Julian Sabas as well, cf. THEODORET, *HR* II, 14) or the *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 119, where Theodore predicted the Emperor Maurice's death. Zeno died of epilepsy or dysentery on April 9, 491, cf. PLRE, p. 1202.

145 It points out that the Emperor had not visited Anaplus, at least in that particular period.

146 A certain analogy can be found in the *Church History* by Theodore Anagnostes, in a passage referring to an ascetic from Paphlagonia named Severos. Zeno heard of him and sent his *cubicularius* to summon him to Constantinople, as the Emperor wished to receive a blessing from him. Bound by his vows, Severos did not want to leave his hermitage; in turn, Zeno communicated to him that he could also serve God through his obedience to the Christian emperor. Finally, Severos made a prediction that bad things would turn into good provided Zeno acted in a righteous way. Zeno sent money to Severos, but the latter refused, see THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, *fr.* 37. Another interesting account can be found in John Moschos' *Pratum Spirituale*; it tells the story of a woman whose daughter was wronged by Zeno. The woman prayed to the Virgin Mary to avenge her daughter. She then had a vision of Mary, who said that she had often wanted to take revenge on Zeno, but his hand prevented her

Those vices, the author recounts, were greed, a disorderly life, listening to informers, and cruelty.¹⁴⁷ This is followed by a long account of Anastasius' reign in the years to come, which would provide a stark contrast to the errors of Zeno's rule. In the hagiographer's view, the figure of Zeno is not crystal-clear. He could not consider the latter as an ideal ruler, as in his opinion Leo had been, and so did not dedicate much attention to the Isaurian-born emperor, relating, for the most part, only those events which provided a necessary explanation for the political situation, and providing only a very limited account of relations between Daniel and Zeno. The exception is *VD* 67, where it is in fact Daniel's prophetic gift that is the focus. In any event, the passage shows that the holy man was still serving as the patron of both the City and the Emperor. He kept them in his spiritual care, prayed for them, and gave his benediction to each legitimate ruler, even though Zeno was lacking in Leo's virtues. Daniel would not be a personal patron to any specific emperor, but rather to each legitimate emperor, regardless of who sat on the throne at any given time.¹⁴⁸

Basiliskos

All of this would not apply to usurpers, i.e., emperors recognized as illegitimate. In the hagiographer's opinion, Basiliskos was exactly such an illegitimate ruler.¹⁴⁹ Through his account of the relations between Daniel and Basiliskos, the author exemplifies the holy stylite's approach to an emperor unworthy of the throne. Even

from doing so. The author goes on to explain that this was due to the Emperor's great charity, cf. JOHN MOSCHOS, *Pratum Spirituale* 175.

147 As these negative traits are mentioned in both the *VD* and a number of other sources (the latter, for the most part, unfavourable to Zeno), the accounts appear to be plausible, cf. LANIADO (1991), p. 168.

148 It must be noted that, unlike Basiliskos, Zeno was the beneficiary of Daniel's prayers; for this reason, the hagiographer treats this positive view of Zeno as a counterpoise to Daniel's negative relations with Basiliskos. Armed with the holy man's favour and assistance, the Emperor returned to reclaim the throne, while the wicked man must lose power. In turn, Laniado argues that the *Life of Daniel* is, overall, very favourable to Zeno, see LANIADO (1991), p. 168. On the other hand, according to Allen, the hagiographer's approval of Zeno stems from the Emperor's co-operation with Akakios, cf. ALLEN (1981), p. 140.

149 Basiliskos was the brother of the empress Verina, Leo I's wife. He began his career in the army; he served as *magister utriusque militiae per Thracias* from ca. 463 to ca. 467/8. He commanded a number of successful campaigns against the Goths and Huns in Thrace. He served as the consul for the Eastern Empire in 465. In 468, he was entrusted with the command of an expedition against the Vandals. The campaign ended in the Romans' defeat. It was alleged that Basiliskos had been bribed by the Vandals. After his return to Constantinople, he was saved thanks only to his sister's intercession. In 471 and 472, he aided Leo I in his confrontation with Aspar and Theoderic Strabo. In 474, he became the first senator. In January of 475, he was proclaimed emperor by Verina after a successful conspiracy and revolt against Zeno. He ruled for a total of twenty months. After his downfall, he was starved to death, along with his family, in a dry cistern at Limnae in Cappadocia, cf. esp. SALAMON (1994), pp. 179–196; cf. also BERSANETTI (1943–1944), pp. 331–346 and PLRE, pp. 212–214.

the first reference to Basiliskos (VD 68) puts him in the context of the conspiracy against Zeno, ascribing the cause of the revolt to Satan's deceitful manoeuvring. According to the author, the seeds of hatred had been sown in the hearts of Basiliskos, Armatos,¹⁵⁰ Marcian,¹⁵¹ and some of the senators.

In the following chapter (VD 69), the author refers to the members of the conspiracy, including Basiliskos himself, as people who had succumbed to evil.¹⁵² He provides a number of details on the participants, stating that they had made use of their access to Verina, Leo I's wife,¹⁵³ who was drawn into the plot against her own will, but was, as the author claims, deceived by the conspirators.¹⁵⁴ After Zeno's flight, Verina enabled Basiliskos to take over the throne, yet the latter would soon turn against his sister, which caused her to seek refuge at the chapel of the Blachernai sanctuary,¹⁵⁵ where she would stay until the fall of Basiliskos' reign. In these two passages, all the negative characteristics of Basiliskos are explicitly enumerated: hatred, a predilection for evil, deviousness, as well as ingratitude

150 Armatos was Basiliskos' and Verina's nephew. During Leo I's reign, he served as *magister utriusque militiae per Thracias* (in the years 469/71–473/4), becoming known for his cruel suppression of a revolt in the province. In 475, he joined the conspiracy against Zeno and was appointed *magister utriusque militiae praesentalis*. He was believed to have been a lover of Zenonis, Basiliskos' wife. In 476, he also served as consul, jointly with Basiliskos. In the same year, he deserted Basiliskos and allied with Zeno, having been promised the rank of *magister militum praesentalis* for life and the elevation of his son to *Caesar*. Zeno fulfilled his promise, but thereafter had Armatos executed and his son sent to a monastery, PLRE, pp. 148–149 and M. J. LESZKA (2000), pp. 335–343.

151 Marcian was the son of the Emperor Anthemius and Aelia Marcia Euphemia, Emperor Marcian's daughter. He married Leontia, Leo I's younger daughter, most probably after 471. In 469, he held joint consulship with Zeno, and another, in 472, with Fl. Rufius Postumius Festus. He would later serve as *magister utriusque militiae praesentalis*. He initially supported Basiliskos' revolt, but, in all probability, also switched sides and joined Zeno's forces in 476. However, in 479, he revolted against Zeno and, failing to take advantage of his initial success, was defeated. Imprisoned at Caesarea in Cappadocia, he fled and gathered an army of former peasants. His attempt to seize Ancyra in Galatia failed. Subsequently, he was sent with his wife to the fortress of Papirion in Isauria. Released during the revolt of Illos, he went to Italy, in hopes of enlisting Odoacer's aid. His later fate is unknown, cf. PLRE, pp. 717–718; SALAMON (1994), pp. 191–192 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), pp. 104–105.

152 VD 69, 186.15: ...χαρέκακοι ἄνδρες... In VD 69, the author mentions yet another conspirator, namely Zouzos, Verina's brother-in-law (VD 69, p. 186.18: ...ὁ δὲ Ζοῦζος ὡς ἅτε γαμβρὸς ἐπὶ ὀδελφῇ...). Zouzos is an otherwise unknown figure, cf. SALAMON (1994), pp. 188–189. For more on Basiliskos' usurpation, see STEIN (1959), pp. 363–364 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), pp. 79–97. See also M. J. LESZKA (1993), pp. 82–83 and M. J. LESZKA (1999).

153 VD 69, 186.16: ...τὴν μακαρίαν Βηρῖναν...

154 VD 69, 186.20–21: ...καὶ ἀπατήσαντες ἐπεισαν συμπνεῦσαι αὐτοῖς, τοῦ ἀπώσασθαι τῆς βασιλείας Ζήνωνα. The author is consistent in his attempt to justify Verina's part in the conspiracy and tends to portray her in positive terms.

155 The Blachernai was situated in the north-western part of Constantinople. It was famous for the Basilica of the Virgin Mary, erected, as the tradition has it, by Pulcheria in ca. 450. To this building, Leo I added a chapel to house the relics, notably the robe of Mary he had brought from the Holy Land, cf. C. MANGO (1991a), p. 293.

and perversity, as evident in his attempt to eliminate the person (his own sister!) to whom he had owed his accession to the throne. As can be seen, this is definitely a very negative image of the future usurper.

It is given even more emphasis in VD 70. At the beginning of the chapter, Basiliskos is called ὁ δυσώνυμος, which means “name of ill omen.”¹⁵⁶ The author also reports that the usurper had launched an attack on the churches of God, with the intention of forcing them to deny the Divine Incarnation. As this resulted in a conflict with Archbishop Akakios of Constantinople, Basiliskos would attempt to discredit and get rid of him. The Archbishop received much support from the monasteries of Constantinople; notably, the monks hurried to his cathedral to protect him from any harm.¹⁵⁷

According to the hagiographer’s account, Basiliskos’ attack on the orthodoxy of the Church was upon his accession his first and most important act. This move revealed the new ruler’s true colours. As the account elaborates upon this question, the reader is left with the impression that the chief objective of Basiliskos’ actions after his elevation to power was to enforce Monophysitism in Constantinople. The heretic ruler, unable to reach his goals, was to resort to scheming and deceit. This is Basiliskos’ primary characteristic as the hagiographer described it in the previous chapter. The next chapter refers to Daniel in the context of this particular conflict for the first time. In the context of Basiliskos’ conflict with Akakios, Basiliskos sailed to Anapulus on the following day and dispatched the *cubicularius* named Daniel¹⁵⁸ to meet with the holy man in order to win him over. He tried to convince Daniel that Akakios had roused the army and the city against Basiliskos and asked the stylite to pray for the new ruler. The holy man did not yield to the messenger, and voiced his opposition to Basiliskos in stern words: “You are not worthy of a blessing for you have adopted Jewish ideas and are setting at nought the incarnation of our

156 VD 70, 187.6. Version V has an additional expression: ...οὗτος βασιλίσκος... Cf. LIDDELL, SCOTT (1996), p. 462.

157 The root of the conflict between Basiliskos and Akakios was the ruler’s support for Monophysitism. Basiliskos restored bishops Timothy and Peter to their Sees in, respectively, Alexandria and Antioch. On April 9, 475, he issued the *Encyclical*, addressed to all the cities and the people of the Empire, where he condemned Pope Leo’s *Tome* and the dogmatic decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, while affirming the confession of faith established at the Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and the two Councils of Ephesus. All bishops were urged to sign the document, while dissidents were to face penalties. Akakios reckoned that the rights of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as decreed at Chalcedon, were thus in danger; he responded by refusing to sign the *Encyclical* and closing down the churches of Constantinople. He also made efforts to ensure the Pope’s support in the conflict, dispatching his legates to Rome in the autumn of 475, cf. HAACKE (1953), pp. 112–116; FREND (1973), pp. 169–174; M. B. LESZKA (1993), pp. 71–78 and KOSIŃSKI (2010b), pp. 71–78.

158 *Cubicularius* Daniel allegedly aided Zenonis, Basiliskos’ wife, and Armatos in their secret meetings, cf. PLRE, p. 345 and SCHOLTEN (1995), p. 250.

Lord Jesus Christ and upsetting the Holy Church and despising His priests.”¹⁵⁹ His view of the new ruler is emphasised through his not referring to Basiliskos as emperor; nor mentioning the usurper by name when he spoke to the *cubicularius*: “Εἶπὲ τῷ ἀποστείλαν τίσε...”¹⁶⁰ Daniel did then communicate with Basiliskos, but only in order to make a confession of his orthodox faith and demonstrate his opposition to the heretical ruler. The hagiographer depicts him as the voice of God, telling Basiliskos that he would very soon lose his authority. Leaving no doubt as to the nature of that authority, Daniel called it “tyrannical.”¹⁶¹

The explicit and uncompromising nature of the stylite's words is further confirmed by the fact that the *cubicularius* retorted that he did not dare communicate them to his superior and begged Daniel to give them to him in a sealed letter. The message made Basiliskos angry and he returned to the capital immediately, whereas Akakios and the people of Constantinople welcomed the news of the letter with joy.¹⁶²

In his account of this event, the author demonstrates Basiliskos' attempt to recreate a pattern already known from the reigns of Leo and Zeno: in a precarious situation, the ruler would seek Daniel's assistance. Basiliskos did so on the day after his dispute with Akakios, most likely in the hope of winning the holy man's favour, while buttressing his own position through Daniel's authority. Moreover, Basiliskos' conduct was respectful towards Daniel; he did not come up to the column on his own, sending his messenger instead. Nor did he put any pressure on the holy man. In this way, he endeavoured to maintain a semblance of continuity for legitimate Imperial authority, even though the holy man declined Basiliskos' request. The extent to which Daniel's refusal mattered in the context of this political crisis is evident in the reaction of Akakios and the inhabitants of Constantinople, to whom it was reportedly very significant. Let us also take notice of the words exclaimed by the crowd, which, as the author reports, likened the stylite to his Biblical namesake or Elijah, the Church to Susanna, and Basiliskos to king Achab.¹⁶³ The author clearly reveals his support for the stringent tone of this censure.

The next chapter relates a similar situation, with Bishop Akakios sending his own messenger to Daniel. The outcome of this visit, so very different from the one ordered by Basiliskos, highlights the holy man's attitude towards the Emperor, espe-

¹⁵⁹ VD 71, 188.5–9: “Αξιός εὐλογίας οὐχ ὑπάρχεις, ἰουδαϊκὸν φρόνημα ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἐνυβρίζων τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταρασσὼν τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ ἀθετῶν...

¹⁶⁰ VD 71, 188. 5.

¹⁶¹ VD 71, 188.11–12: ...τὴν τυρανικὴν σου βασιλείαν...

¹⁶² VD 71.

¹⁶³ VD 71, 188.22: ...ὁ νέος Δανιὴλ τὴν Σωσάνναν κινδυνεύουσιν σώσων· ἄλλος Ἡλίας τὴν Ἰεζάβελ καὶ τὸν Ἀχαάβ καταισχνεῖ... The comparison with Jezebel refers, most likely, to Zenonis, Basiliskos' wife, not to Verina, cf. VD 76, 194, 15.

cially as Akakios openly called the latter “godless.”¹⁶⁴ Ultimately, Daniel decided to enter into an open confrontation with Basiliskos. After many years spent atop the pillar, he came down and arrived at the capital with the intention to give his assistance and support to Akakios. The *VD* depicts Daniel in his new role as the anti-usurper opposition leader, evident in *VD* 73. In this way, he became a central figure for the Church. Moreover, it was the stylite (not Akakios) who addressed a letter to Basiliskos, called “emperor” by the author at this point.¹⁶⁵ The content of the letter was meant to reflect Daniel’s attitude towards the Emperor: “Does this angering of God do you any service? Is not your life in His hands? What have you to do with the Holy Church, to war against its servants, and prove yourself a second Diocletian?”¹⁶⁶ Referring to the Emperor as a “new Diocletian” and thus comparing him with a persecutor of the Church was an extremely strong statement and would leave no doubt as to the holy man’s approach towards Basiliskos. The hagiographer makes it clear that Daniel had the right to angrily castigate the Emperor.

In the author’s view, the Emperor’s reaction to Daniel’s letter was to be expected: when Basiliskos received the letter and learnt that the holy man had descended from his pillar to join Akakios, he was scared, left his palace, and hurried to the Hebdomon. Leaving no doubt that the Emperor’s flight was caused by the stylite’s presence in the city, the author concludes this chapter with Basiliskos’ reply, in which Basiliskos left Constantinople to Daniel.¹⁶⁷ The *VD* presents the holy stylite as a crucial influence determining political authority in the Empire. He is depicted in his ideal image, taking the lead, forcing the bad ruler to abandon the palace and thus playing the part of a leading power-broker.

But this initial victory was not the end of the matter. In *VD* 75, the holy man is shown leading the crowd¹⁶⁸ to the palace of Hebdomon. However, the situation was different there, as Basiliskos was protected by the troops stationed at the complex, and could not easily be reached by the people of Constantinople. Consequently, Basiliskos made no further concessions and he ordered his soldiers to prevent the stylite from entering the palace. Incidentally, the resistance proved fatal to one of them.¹⁶⁹ Unlike the crowd, which was pressing forward, Daniel refrained from forcing

164 *VD* 72, 189.13: ...ἀσεβῶν... This term was used to refer to a person who did not recognize or believe in one God, a pagan, or a heretic, cf. LAMPE (1961), pp. 242–243.

165 *VD* 73, 191.8: ...τῷ βασιλεῖ...

166 *VD* 73, 191.9–12: Τοῦ τό σεθεραπεύει τὸ παροργίζειν Θεόν; οὐ ἡ ζωὴ σου ἐν χερσίν αὐτοῦ; τί σοὶ καὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοῦ πολεμεῖν τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτῆς, νέος Διοκλετιανὸς ἀναδειχθεὶς;... Cf. Donatus’ words: “*Quid est imperatori cum Ecclesia?*” (OPTATUS, *De schismate Donatistarum* III, 3).

167 *VD* 73, 191.15–17: “Ὁλος ὁ ἄγών σου γέγονεν εἰσελθεῖς ἐντῇ πόλει καὶ διεγείραι αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ ἐμέ· ἰδοὺ ἀφίημί σοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν.

168 *VD* 75, 193.1: ...τοῦ ὁσίου σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ...

169 One of the Gothic guards leant out the window and taunted Daniel, calling him “new consul.” In an act of Divine intervention, he fell down and died on the spot (*VD* 75, p. 193, 2–5). Although the rank of consul was an honorary title in Late Antiquity, consular appointment continued to be regarded as a great distinction. Consulship imposed extraordinary financial demands on the holder, as it

his way into the palace. Following the example of Christ (Matthew 10:11), he told his followers to shake the dust off their clothes, calling Basiliskos a “braggart”,¹⁷⁰ and left the place. The hagiographer makes it clear that God protected the holy man from debasement; at the same time it seems clear that Daniel had a sense of the limits to his strength and authority.

The Emperor's response came soon after. Having been informed of the holy man's evangelical gesture, Basiliskos¹⁷¹ sent two *silentiarii* and a *referendarios*¹⁷² after Daniel to beseech him to return. They were to pass on the Emperor's words of contrition to Daniel: “If I indeed sinned as a man, do you as servant of Christ propitiate Him on my behalf and I will seek in everything to serve God and your Holiness.”¹⁷³ But Daniel would not accept the ruler's penitent attitude. In an uncompromising retort, he rejected Basiliskos' request and predicted that he would have to face God's punishment.¹⁷⁴ Once again, he used blunt expressions in his reply, e.g., “guile” and “deceit.”¹⁷⁵ As a symbol of this adamant position, he repeated the same evangelical gesture, making the dust fall upon the Imperial secretary's cloak and bidding Basiliskos' messengers to take the dust with them as a testimony to the “braggart”,¹⁷⁶ to his wife, and “against her who is his confederate.”¹⁷⁷ As can be seen, Daniel did not desist from using very confrontational speech. He neither attempted, nor agreed upon, a deal with Basiliskos, who might, as a result, have taken a more flexible stance; nor did he enter into direct relations or agree to intercede for Basiliskos before God. In this way, he placed an emphasis on the fact that Basiliskos was an unworthy emperor, while Daniel could only act as a patron for legitimate emperors, on whose behalf he would have never refused prayers. Daniel's indignation

required organization of banquets, races at the Hippodrome, distribution of consular diptychs, etc. Daniel's poverty was obviously in stark contrast with the popular notion of consulship, cf. GUILLAND (1967), vol. II, pp. 44–67; BAGNALL (1987), pp. 1–95; KAZHDAN (1991c), pp. 525–526.

170 VD 75, 193.11: ...τῷ ἀλαζόνι... [...ὁ ἀλαζών... – P] – a boastful person, liar.

171 VD 76, 194.23: ...ὁ δυσσεβὴς Βασιλίσκος... This expression denotes a godless person, often a pagan or heretic, cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 393.

172 *Referendarios* – the term was used to refer to both state and church officials. The secular *referendarios* is attested for the first time in Julian's reign; he served as an Imperial secretary. The office would come to prominence under Justinian I. The *referendarios*' principal duty was the passing of the emperor's orders to the *magistroi* and submitting petitions and complaints received from subjects to the emperor. In all probability, the office of *referendarios* would have ceased to exist by the 7th century, cf. GUILLAND (1967), vol. II, pp. 92–98; JONES (1986), p. 575; KAZHDAN, MAGDALINO (1991), p. 1778.

173 VD 76, 193.27 – p. 194.3: Εἰ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἡμάρτον ἐγώ, (...), αὐτὸς ὡς θεράπων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξίλασαι αὐτόν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, πάντα τὰ θεραπεύοντα τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγιωσύνην ποιούντός μου.

174 Daniel refers to him as “emperor” here – VD 76, 194.4: ...εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι...

175 VD 76, 194.5: ...Οἱ δολεροὶ καὶ ἀπατηλοὶ σου λόγοι...

176 VD 76, 194.13 – 14: ...τῷ ἀλαζόνι...

177 VD 76, 194.14: ...καὶ τῆς συμπάτορος αὐτοῦ... It is difficult to attribute this expression to a specific person. The words may be referring here to the empress Verina, who ceased to support her brother Basiliskos after he attempted to marginalize her position, cf. M. J. LESZKA (1998), pp. 132–133.

resembled the anger of the Old-Testament prophets, who often took action against injustice and the abandonment of the true faith by rulers.¹⁷⁸ Thus, Daniel's reaction was an expression of the anger of God Himself, also clearly manifested when (as shown in the final passage of *VD* 76) the tower of Basiliskos' palace crumbled down as a sign of God's wrath.

The subsequent chapters, up to *VD* 83, depict Daniel as a veritable leader of the Empire's capital city. A great number of healings took place around him, affirming his authority and holiness.¹⁷⁹ In *VD* 77, Daniel's role is stated explicitly through a sort of popular acclamation, with the people exclaiming that they wished to live and die together with the holy man, as everything they had owed to him, and urged him to lead them where he would.¹⁸⁰ These passages prepare the reader for a final confrontation between Basiliskos and Daniel. The stylite became, in effect, the leader of Constantinople and the Church of Constantinople, with the figure of Akakios somewhat marginalized (and in fact absent from several of the chapters). At the same time, Basiliskos had come to realize the actual situation and decided to make one more gesture of humility in order to become reconciled with the holy man. These events are narrated in *VD* 83–84, leading up to Basiliskos' equivalent of "going to Canossa".

Chapter 83 begins with Basiliskos getting to know about all that had occurred in the City, and of Daniel's condemnation. Realizing that the situation did not bode well, Basiliskos sailed to Constantinople without delay and, on the following day, asked some senators to go to the cathedral and beg Daniel to come to the palace. Once again, Daniel did not comply with Basiliskos' request, and counter-attacked demanding that the ruler come to the church himself and renounce his false beliefs before the Holy Cross and the Scriptures, which he had insulted.¹⁸¹ The senators passed Daniel's reply on, to the Emperor, who in turn immediately set out at the head of a solemn procession to the cathedral. Akakios met him inside the shrine, holding the Holy Bible in his hand, while Basiliskos' greeting may have seemed somewhat hypocritical. After a prayer, they both went to meet with the holy man. This particular point in the *VD* marks the culmination of the reverence shown to Daniel, as the au-

178 One such example could be Elijah (in 1 Kings), as recalled by the people of Constantinople, cf. *VD* 71.

179 Cf. *VD* 77, where two young people, afflicted by demons, were healed; *VD* 79: a young girl was healed of some mysterious illness; *VD* 81: at the church, Daniel ordered a snake around his foot to slither away; *VD* 82: a patrician woman named Herais was healed of her infertility thanks to the stylite's intercession. Miller explains the snake's symbolical meaning by referring to its significance as the symbol for kingdom in Archaic-era Greece, cf. MILLER (1970), p. 211, n. 14a.

180 *VD* 77, 194.22–195.1: Ζῆσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μετὰ σοῦ ἐσμέν· τί γὰρ ἀνταποδοῦναί σοι ἄξιον οὐκ ἔχομεν· δέξαι πρόθεσιν τῶν σὺν ἱκετῶν καὶ ἄγαγε ἡμᾶς ὡς βούλεσαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἁγία περιμένει σε.

181 *VD* 83, 198.4–6: Daniel would justify his refusal by saying that he was a sinful man (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμι ἄνθρωπος). The hagiographer's emphasis is clearly on the holy man's humility in the face of the ruler's hubris.

thor states that both the Emperor¹⁸² and the Archbishop¹⁸³ fell at the holy man's feet in the presence of all the people gathered at the cathedral.¹⁸⁴

It is evident that both secular and ecclesiastical authorities paid homage to Daniel. If the attitude of Basiliskos, a former enemy of the Church, should have been no surprise, it is somewhat surprising to see Akakios' penitent posture in this specific passage. Both Akakios and Basiliskos recognized the superior nature of Daniel's spiritual and charismatic authority. The hagiographer reports that this occurred in the presence of all those who were there (...ένώπιον παντός τοῦ λαοῦ...¹⁸⁵). In this case, interestingly, Daniel did not step aside, as had been the case in some of the previous chapters, especially with regard to the bishops, but called on Basiliskos and Akakios to seek a peaceful resolution and to refrain from any hostility towards each other.¹⁸⁶ Daniel warned them: "For if you are at variance, you cause confusion in the holy churches and throughout the world you stir up no ordinary unrest."¹⁸⁷ In this way, Daniel came to be seen as the person capable of restoring peace in the troubled city, acting as an arbitrator in a dogmatic controversy. Neither Emperor nor Bishop was capable of playing this role. According to the hagiographer, Basiliskos would come to understand the situation. Following the holy man's exhortation, he tried to defend himself against the accusation of heresy. In a complete reversal of the Roman Empire's long-established order, the superior judge (the emperor) tried to clear his name before Daniel the Stylite, who can here be seen in the role of the judge. It was Daniel who would verify the ruler's orthodoxy. Unlike Akakios and the synod, the holy man actually proved to be the only figure with the unquestioned capacity to take action in this regard. Indeed, the two protagonists would acknowledge the superiority of his power over their own.

Upon the ruler's apology, much cheering and shouting could be heard in the crowd. It is notable that at this point the hagiographer attempts to be quite impartial in his account, citing the shouts raised in support of Basiliskos as well as those definitely hostile to him (as though there had been no unanimous popular response following on from his apology). The author notes that a divergence of opinion in Constantinople still existed, and the only one who could restore unity was Daniel.

¹⁸² VD 83, 198.13: ...ὁ τε Βασιλίσκος...

¹⁸³ VD 83, 198.13 – 14: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀκάκιος...

¹⁸⁴ Basiliskos was compelled to revoke his *Encyclical* in a new document, known as the *Anti-Encyclical*, which condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, as well as all the other heresies; it also consolidated the position held by the Patriarch of Constantinople, cf. HAACKE (1953), pp. 115 – 116; FREND (1973), pp. 173 – 174 and KOSIŃSKI (2010a), pp. 92 – 95.

¹⁸⁵ VD 83, 198, 13.

¹⁸⁶ This statement is surprising in its equal attribution of responsibility to the Emperor and the Archbishop alike, as though the latter had borne a share of the guilt as well. For a discussion of relations between Daniel and Akakios, see below.

¹⁸⁷ VD 83, 198.15 – 18: "Ὑμῶν γάρ, φησίν, ἀστατούντων, καὶ ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις τάραχον ἐμποιεῖτε καὶ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ οὐ τὴν τυχούσαν ἀκαταστάσιαν διεγείρετε."

Basiliskos and Akakios both prostrated themselves before the holy man, thus fully illustrating this point.

The following chapter, *VD* 84, shows the stylite restoring unity to the City of Constantinople and within the Church. He summoned Strategios, the Imperial secretary, and told the Emperor¹⁸⁸ to pronounce his apology in public. Standing on the dais, the secretary read the apology aloud to the people assembled in the church. In this way, following the desires expressed by Daniel and the people, the Emperor¹⁸⁹ became reconciled with the holy man and with Archbishop Akakios in the presence of the entire congregation, after which he returned to the palace. Finally, Daniel accomplished his mission restoring peace to the Church of Constantinople. In the two chapters discussed above, the hagiographer refers to Basiliskos as “emperor,” as if the abandonment of his wrong ways would have made him somehow more worthy of the Imperial title. At the close of *VD* 84, he writes: “Thus did our Master God bring the enemy of His Holy Church to His feet.”¹⁹⁰ Although Basiliskos is called “the enemy” of the Church in this passage, he was, at the same time, someone who retreated from the wrong course and whose authority could become legitimized through the holy man’s approval.

To avoid the impression that Basiliskos’ contrition led to Daniel’s recognizing him as the legitimate emperor, the author makes it clear in *VD* 85 that after returning to the top of the column and resuming his daily ascetic practice, the holy man disclosed to an inner circle of priests, monks and other people that it was not right to have the persecutor¹⁹¹ make peace with them. He also communicated to them clearly that God would soon take revenge on Basiliskos for all the wrongs he had done to the Church. And very soon afterwards, by God’s will, the Emperor Zeno¹⁹² and his consort Ariadne¹⁹³ returned to Constantinople. The hagiographer does not say anything about the usurper’s fate. He only remarks that the holy man’s predictions came true again. The above passage reveals the following inconsistency on the author’s part: the holy man directed political affairs, yet he did not determine the final outcome. Daniel’s words in *VD* 85 confirm, nonetheless, the author’s previously stated opinion. Basiliskos had never been a legitimate and worthy emperor, and as such could not have counted on Daniel’s patronage. In spite of the ruler’s efforts to identify himself with the tradition of his predecessors and to obtain the holy stylite’s blessing, Daniel’s approval proved by no means final. The unworthy ruler had become the cause of

188 *VD* 84, 199.2: ...ἐπέτρεψεν τῷ βασιλεῖ...

189 *VD* 84, 199.20: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...; *VD* 84, p. 199, 21: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...

190 *VD* 84, 199.23–24: ...τοῦ δεσπότη Θεοῦ τὸν ἐχθρὸν τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἀγαγόντος.

191 *VD* 85, 200.4: ...ὁ λυμεὼν...

192 *VD* 85, 200.8–9: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων...

193 *VD* 85, 200.9–10: ...σὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ καὶ βασιλίδι καὶ ἐκ βασιλέων τεχθεῖσῃ Ἀριάδνῃ. Version O has the expression: ...πιστωτάτη...; while version P: ...τῇ πιστωτάτῃ αὐτοῦ γαμετῇ... (the spelling according to the edition).

so much discord and feuding within the Church of Constantinople that, even though Daniel's intervention would lead to Basiliskos' renunciation of heresy, he was still an illegitimate emperor and there was no question of him forging any lasting alliance with Daniel the Stylite.

Anastasius

The last emperor featured in the *VD* is Anastasius I.¹⁹⁴ He appears towards the close of the work, in *VD* 91. As the chapter is concerned with Zeno's death, it also makes a note of the moribund Emperor's vices. The hagiographer goes on to state that the holy man communicated to his disciples that after Zeno's death, his wife Ariadne¹⁹⁵ would rule the Empire along with a man "who loved Christ and had devoted his whole life to hymns to God and to vigils, who was a model of sobriety to all men and who in gentleness and justice would surpass all those who had reigned at any time; he will turn aside, too, (...), from that love of money which according to the Apostle is 'the root of all evils' (1 Tm 6:10). He will govern the State impartially and honestly, and throughout his reign he will grant peace and confidence to the most holy Churches and to the order of monks. In his time the rich shall not be favoured, neither shall the poor be wronged, for this above all, both in peace and in war, will be the surest guarantee of prosperity to the world."¹⁹⁶

The above passage, which follows directly on from the enumeration of Zeno's vices (his disorderly life, listening to informers, avarice, inclemency and even cruelty) demonstrates a number of features characteristic of the good ruler: godliness, leniency, integrity, impartiality, justice, rejection of greed, solicitude for the Church. The latter characteristics stand in stark contrast to the traits of the former emperor.¹⁹⁷ In this way, the new sovereign is presumed to be an ideal emperor, in his virtues su-

194 Anastasius I reigned from April 11, 491, until his death on July 8 or 10, 518. Anastasius' accession to the throne was determined by Ariadne, Emperor Zeno's widow, contrary to the will of Bishop Euphemios and Zeno (as the latter had provided for his brother Longinus to succeed him). For more on Anastasius' reign, see CAPIZZI (1969); LILIE (1995), pp. 3–12; HAARER (2006) and MEIER (2009).

195 *VD* 91, 206.1–2: ...ἡ φιλόχριστος Ἀριάδνη.

196 *VD* 91, 206.4–15: ...συμβασιλεύσει δὲ αὐτῇ ἀνὴρ φιλόχριστος καὶ τὸν ὅλον ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὕμνοις τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις ἀνατεθεικώς, σωφροσύνης μὲν ᾗ πασι γινόμενος εἰκὼν, πραότητι δὲ καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστοτε καιρῷ βασιλεύσαντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ὑπερβαλεῖ καὶ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μὲν ἀποσπερόμενος ἀποστραφήσεται, ἥτις ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀποστολὸν ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν· ἀποσωπολήπτως δὲ καὶ καθαρῶς τὴν πολιτείαν κυβερνῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλησίαις καὶ τῷ μοναχικῷ τάγματι εἰρήνην καὶ παρρησίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρόνων ἔσται δωρούμενος· παρ' ᾧ μηδὲν ὁ πλούσιος ἔξει πλέον μηδὲ ὁ πέννης ἔλαττον· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις ἰκανωτάτην εὐπραγίαν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ παρέξει.

197 This particular enumeration of bad characteristics may provide a more complete view of Zeno's vices, enlarged by his alleged neglectful attitude towards the Church and his favouring of influential figures.

perior even to Leo I, for the author claims that he “in gentleness and justice would surpass **all** those who had reigned at any time.”

The hagiographer also notes that Daniel’s prophecy was fulfilled and the new ruler, Anastasius, very soon proved his virtues.¹⁹⁸ However, in spite of this very positive opinion, the Emperor is not seen visiting Anaplus, either in the stylite’s lifetime or during the funeral ceremony following Daniel’s death. In *VD* 92, the author says that the rulers,¹⁹⁹ moved by their zeal for God, wished to show their reverence for Daniel at the moment when it seemed he was soon to die. Their feelings were reflected in the construction of a tomb of expensive stone and metal, and in a number of other elements that went into the funeral. Much emphasis is placed on the rulers’ generosity.²⁰⁰ This would be appreciated by Daniel after his recovery, as he stated that their gifts were great and worthy of their faith in God. Nonetheless, Daniel did not accept the gifts, as he said he wished to be buried beneath the relics of the Old-Testament martyrs: Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael.²⁰¹ Indeed, even though he acted in this way out of humility, the fact was that he had refused to accept the Emperor’s gift. Undaunted, the rulers were to provide even more gifts after Daniel’s death, by offering thousands of candles for the funeral ceremony and erecting the scaffolding in order to take down Daniel’s body.

In the whole account, the author does not refer to any personal meeting between the Emperor and Daniel. He does not even state if Anastasius ever visited the stylite or tried to contact him via messengers. Apparently, the Emperor did not make any attempt to establish relations with the holy man. On the other hand, when informed of the Emperor’s gift, Daniel did not tell anybody to pass on words of thanks to Anastasius. Likewise, he made no attempt to establish any relation with the ruler. It is notable that there is no mention of the Emperor’s participation in the ceremony of Daniel’s funeral, either. Interestingly, the first time that Anastasius is ever mentioned in connection with Daniel was during the holy man’s first illness. It took place, most likely, shortly before his second bout of illness and subsequent death (December 493). Anastasius became emperor on April 11, 491. In effect, despite his renown and well-established status as the patron of Constantinople and the Emperor, Daniel drew Anastasius’ attention only after a period of about a dozen months. It is not difficult to notice a certain measure of distance between the Emperor and the stylite.

In view of the above, was this definitely positive image of Anastasius drawn here down to political considerations? For obvious reasons, the reigning ruler should not

198 In the hagiographer’s words (*VD* 91, 206.16–19): “Τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως Ἀναστασίου προχειρισθέντος, δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ὁ κόσμος ἔγνω τῶν προρρηθέντων τὴν ἔκβασιν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν τῇ μάτρει τοῦ ὁσίου ὑπάρχοντες, πᾶν εἶδος εὐεργεσίας ἐσχηκόντες.”

199 *VD* 92, 206.21: ...[εὐσεβεῖς – O, P] βασιλεῖς...

200 *VD* 92, 206.26–27: ...καὶ ὅσα δὲ περὶ τὴν κηδεῖαν ἤδη προεχώρησεν μεγαλοφυῶς ἐξαπέστειλαν...

201 According to Theodoret, Zebinas had been interred in the tomb with the relics of the Persian saints who were martyred under Shapur II and his successors, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXIV, 2.

be criticized, but the author might have preferred to avoid speaking of him at all. Religious issues would have played a significant part here: Anastasius favoured the followers of Monophysitism, while Daniel would defend the Council of Chalcedon. However, it must be noted that at the time of the work on the *VD* Anastasius had not yet launched his anti-Chalcedonian policy. Thus the most likely explanation is that we are dealing with an opportunistic praising of the incumbent ruler. However, even if the hagiographer is guilty of opportunism, the above passage would still be illustrative of a certain ideal. Since Daniel died in the early period of Anastasius' reign, the author intimates that the stylite had made the situation in the Empire more stable and secure, and that the ruler's holy patron would be succeeded by the holy ruler himself. Nonetheless, the Emperor was not left on his own, as the memory and the relics of Daniel remained and would prove beneficial in hard times.

To sum up, the hagiographer portrays the image of the ideal ruler (in his eyes, Emperor Leo I) as well as the anti-ideal, i.e., an unworthy emperor, usurper (in the *VD*, a role assigned to Basiliskos). The ideal emperor entrusts himself, his family, and the state to the holy man, who becomes his patron, an intermediary between the earthly ruler and the Divine monarch. Prayer, prophecy, benediction, and miracles – these are all signs of the holy man's special protection of the good sovereign. For his part, the ruler ought to act as a guardian of the holy man, taking care of his safety and the community forming around him. Conversely, an unworthy ruler, a heretic, should remain unrecognized by the holy man. The usurper should be denied benediction and protection. The holy man may even oppose him overtly. In consequence, the hagiographer's vision leaves no doubt, the unworthy ruler's ultimate defeat is inevitable, as the latter is unable to retain his hold of the throne without the holy man's support.²⁰²

At the same time, the author seems to suggest that the holy man was a protector of every worthy ruler, even if he was, like Zeno, far from perfect and had many vices. Such a monarch, however, albeit recognized by the holy man, would not deserve much attention from the hagiographer. In turn, the panegyric on Anastasius, the then reigning emperor, may have served to show the lasting effects of the holy man's long-standing protection of the Empire: Daniel had fulfilled his mission, leaving the state in the hands of a worthy ruler.

2.2. Daniel's Relations with the Empresses

A question to be discussed separately is Daniel's attitude towards the empresses and the hagiographer's appraisal of these figures. "Attitude" is the most adequate term

²⁰² The hagiographer clearly attempts to link Daniel the Stylite with the prophet Daniel (the prophecy on Zeno draws on the story of Nebuchadnezzar and the relics of Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael). Likewise, relations between Daniel and the emperors would appear to be a reflection of those between the prophet Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar or Balthasar, cf. Dn 1–6.

here, as it is difficult to speak of mutual relations. In the twelve chapters where the imperial consorts are mentioned, and with the exception of two episodes (VD 20 and 46), the empresses are not depicted visiting Anaplus or communicating with the holy man in any other way. The one and only exception is Eudoxia,²⁰³ who did visit Daniel at Anaplus (VD 35). The empress Eudoxia,²⁰⁴ after her return from Africa (as Daniel predicted to her son-in-law Olybrius), heard about the holy man from Olybrius and paid a visit at Anaplus. Impressed by the stylite, she begged him to relocate his pillar onto her land, but Daniel refused, referring to a quote from the Scriptures. Edified by Daniel's words, Eudoxia²⁰⁵ left the place.

In the above chapter of the VD, the former empress of the West became aware of Daniel's sanctity and even wished to see him residing on her estate. Eudoxia's wish was dictated by her piety, but, at the same time, the relocation of Daniel's column onto her estate would have signified the elevation of the owner's status on account of the holy man's spiritual authority. However, upon her return to Constantinople, Eudoxia no longer possessed any actual authority in the West. She had lost her important political position, but may possibly have retained her title of *Augusta*.²⁰⁶ Daniel's refusal to relocate was not intended as an affront to Eudoxia, as the hagiographer notes, and allowed the devout empress to enrich herself spiritually through the holy man's words. The author's opinion of Eudoxia is very positive: τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης, πιστοτάτη.

Verina

The first reigning empress to be found in the VD is Verina,²⁰⁷ the Emperor Leo's wife. According to VD 38, Verina²⁰⁸ conceived and gave birth to a son. The intention behind this particular point must have been to confirm Daniel's powers of intercession.

203 Licinia Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius II and Aelia Eudocia, was born in 422. On October 29, 437, she married the Western Emperor Valentinian III, in Constantinople. They had two daughters: Eudocia and Placidia. She was proclaimed *Augusta* at Ravenna in 439. After Valentinian III's death, she was married, against her will, to Petronius Maximus. She was accused of instigating Genseric to invade Rome in order to rescue her. After the sack of Rome, Genseric took Eudoxia and her two daughters to Africa (455), where she was held captive for the next several years. Ultimately, she was released and sent back to Constantinople ca. 462. These events are referred to in VD 35. She died most probably shortly after Daniel's death in 493. Cf. PLRE, pp. 410–412.

204 VD 35, 153.5–6: ...ἡ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης Εὐδοξία...

205 VD 35, 153.28: ...ἡ πιστοτάτη βασίλισσα Εὐδοξία... On the title: ἡ πιστοτάτη, see LAMPE (1961), p. 1088.

206 There is no information on Eudoxia's loss of that title, cf. PLRE, p. 411.

207 Aelia Verina had married Leo before his accession to the throne in 457. She was Basiliskos' sister and an aunt of Armatos. Verina had two daughters: Ariadne and Leontia. She held the title of *Augusta*. In 463, she gave birth to a son who died in infancy (five months after his birth). She died during the siege of the Papirion fortress in 484, or shortly after that date, and was interred in Constantinople, cf. PLRE, p. 1156; GREGORY (1991c), p. 2160; M. J. LESZKA (1998), pp. 128–136 and TWARDOWSKA (2009).

Another relevant passage can be found in *VD* 46. Unidentified by name, Verina²⁰⁹ accompanied the Emperor Leo on a visit to the holy man in order to honour him and beseech him to pray God after the disastrous fire of Constantinople (which Daniel had predicted and warned against). The hagiographer makes a noteworthy comparison between the couple and the two lights adoring Daniel in his mother's night vision. As noted before, this comparison testified to the author's high esteem of the Emperor and his consort. It also reflected the holy man's standing in relation to the Imperial couple. In the hagiographer's account, Verina's rank was equal to that of the Emperor.

Further on, *VD* 69 relates the events connected to Basiliskos' revolt, but with no direct link to the stylite. The narrative deals with Basiliskos' conspiracy against Zeno. The author reports that Basiliskos, Armatos, Zouzos, and Marcian had taken advantage of their access to Verina²¹⁰ and managed to persuade her to take part in a conspiracy to dethrone Zeno. After the Emperor's flight, Verina²¹¹ secured the throne for her brother Basiliskos, but the latter made an attempt to get rid of her. She had to seek refuge at the chapel of Virgin Mary at the Blachernai, where she would remain until Basiliskos' death.

This particular chapter depicts Basiliskos' treacherous conduct, yet it is also worth noting the hagiographer's efforts to justify Verina's participation in a revolt against the legitimate ruler. As a result, it appears that the conspirators succeeded in persuading her only through deceit,²¹² and that she would become a target for Basiliskos' attacks after his elevation to the throne. Verina's retreat to the Blachernai was convenient for the author, as in this way she would not have to be implicated in Basiliskos' pro-Monophysite activities. In addition, the hagiographer calls her μακαρία, which points to his positive opinion of the empress. This attitude may have been due to his special appreciation of Leo I, notwithstanding his not very favourable assessment of Zeno's reign. At the same time, however, it must be noted that Verina is depicted as naive and easily swayable. Needless to say, the aforementioned chapter does not contribute anything new to our discussion of the relations between Daniel and Verina, as there was no actual contact between the two figures.

208 *VD* 38, 155.17–18: ...ἡ βασίλισσα Βερίνα...

209 *VD* 46, 164.4–6: ...λαβὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετήν...

210 *VD* 69, 186.15–16: ...πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν Βερίναν...

211 *VD* 69, 186.26 – p. 187.1: Ἡ οὖν προλεχθεῖσα βασίλισσα Βερίνα...

212 *VD* 69, 186.20–21: ...καὶ ἀπατήσαντες ἐπεισαν συμπνεῦσαι αὐτοῖς, τοῦ ἀπόσασθαι τῆς βασιλείας Ζήνωνα. Baynes asserted that the conspiracy had been engineered by Basiliskos, not Verina, cf. BAYNES (1925), p. 401. For a similar view, see also M. J. LESZKA (1998), p. 132. A different opinion is held by Gregory, cf. GREGORY (1991c), p. 2160, who reckons that the revolt against Zeno was instigated by Leo I's widow.

The last passage referring to Verina can be found in *VD* 76,²¹³ where the holy man is shown shaking the dust off his clothes onto the messenger's cloak, in testimony against Basiliskos, "against [that woman] who is his ally, and against his wife."²¹⁴ In this way, Daniel makes a clear distinction between Basiliskos' wife, Zenonis, and another woman allied with the usurper. This latter person may have been Verina, who aided her brother in his usurpation, even though Daniel did not state this explicitly. It is possible that the hagiographer purposefully left the holy man's statement unclear, thus avoiding any association between Leo's consort and Basiliskos at a time when the Basiliskos had been in conflict with the stylite. Although the *VD* makes no mention of any other woman supporting Basiliskos, the vagueness of Daniel's statement makes it impossible to draw any definite conclusions on the matter.

Verina therefore appears in only two cases (aside from the latter unclear passage): in the account of political events and as Leo's consort. In the author's view, the latter fact would appear to have been of the greatest importance. For this reason, and in spite of her part in the revolt against Zeno, the hagiographer attempts to describe her in positive terms. Such an image of Verina may also have been due to the structure-related requirements of the hagiographical work, as the author could not afford to convey a contradictory message, the Emperor Leo portrayed in very favourable terms while his consort was subjected to censure. Considering the fact that Daniel had a high regard for Leo, it seems he chose to value his wife as well, even though there is no clear evidence that can offer sufficient proof for this explanation.

Zenonis

The above excerpt from *VD* 76 is, however, a clear reflection of the holy man's attitude towards Zenonis,²¹⁵ Basiliskos' wife, although her name receives no mention in the *VD*. In fact, the author does not ascribe any personal significance to her; what seems to matter is that she was the consort of an unworthy emperor. This is the reason why she is portrayed as a wicked person in the *VD*, as can be seen in the conclusion of *VD* 71, where the angry crowd called her "Jezebel".²¹⁶ It is clear that Daniel had been opposed to Basiliskos as well as to everybody who was to lend him support, including his consort.

²¹³ Shouts raised by the crowd (cf. the ending of *VD* 71), such as "new Elijah shall bring Jezebel and Ahab to shame," refer to Zenonis, Basiliskos' wife, not Verina. I will return to this question in the subsection on Zenonis.

²¹⁴ *VD* 76, 194.14–15: ...καὶ τῆς συμπάκτορος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναῖκος αὐτοῦ.

²¹⁵ Aelia Zenonis was Basiliskos' wife. They had a son named Marcus. Proclaimed *Augusta* by Basiliskos in 475, she died together with her husband one year later, cf. M. J. LESZKA (2002), pp. 87–93; PLRE, p. 1203 and TWARDOWSKA (2009).

²¹⁶ *VD* 71, 188.24: ..Ιεζάβελ... Allegedly, it was Zenonis who had induced Basiliskos to support Monophysitism and issue his *Encyclical*, cf. M. J. LESZKA (2002), p. 89.

Ariadne

The last empress to be found in the *VD* is Ariadne, the wife of Zeno and Anastasius I.²¹⁷ The initial passages referring to her appearance in the narrative offer no indication of any relation between Ariadne and Daniel.

The first of the relevant chapters, *VD* 65, says that Ariadne²¹⁸ was given in marriage to Zeno by her father Leo. In the following chapter, it is said that she had given birth²¹⁹ to Zeno's son, whom they named Leo; in turn, *VD* 67 goes on to note that the child (cf. versions O and V) became²²⁰ emperor upon Leo I's death. Further on (*VD* 69), the hagiographer relates that in consequence of Basiliskos' revolt Zeno and his wife had to leave the capital and go into exile.²²¹ Finally, Zeno and Ariadne²²² returned from exile, as the holy man had foreseen (*VD* 85).

It is only in the latter chapter that any clue of the hagiographer's attitude to Ariadne can be found, since he refers to her as "the most faithful" (cf. versions P and O). Another noteworthy expression is "the empress [born] of the emperor," in recognition of her rights to the throne. In the other relevant passages, the author only mentions her name or uses the pronoun. As can be seen, there were no relations to speak of between Ariadne and Daniel.

However, *VD* 91–92 represent a different perspective on Ariadne. *VD* 91 is devoted, among other things, to Daniel's prophecy concerning Zeno's death, whereupon Ariadne²²³ would begin her reign thanks to "her perfect faith in the God of her fathers."²²⁴ In the following chapter, it can be seen that during the holy man's first bout of illness Anastasius and Ariadne,²²⁵ moved by Daniel's fervent love of God, wished to pay him homage by having a magnificent tomb of stone and metal erected. They also supplied everything that was necessary for the burial. The author leaves no doubt concerning the imperial couple's lavish generosity,²²⁶ and their patronage. Upon the news of this great gift, Daniel would say that the things offered were great indeed and worthy of their faith in God, although he would eventually refuse

217 Aelia Ariadne was the Emperor Leo I's elder daughter (her younger sister was Leontia). She was born prior to Leo's accession to the throne in 457. She married Zeno, the future emperor, in 468. They had one son, who would later become emperor as Leo II. After Zeno's death, she aided Anastasius in his accession to the throne and married him. She held the title of *Augusta* from 474 until her death in 515. Cf. PLRE, pp. 140–141; GREGORY, CUTLER (1991a), pp. 166–167 and TWARDOWSKA (2009).

218 *VD* 65, 184.8: ...τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Ἀριάδνην...

219 *VD* 66, 184.26–27: ... τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως..., in versions O and V: ...τῆς προειρημένης Ἀριάδνης...

220 *VD* 67, 185, in versions O and V: ...καὶ Ἀρεάδνης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ...

221 *VD* 69, 186.22–23: ...λαβὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν τὴν βασιλίδαν Ἀριάδνην...

222 *VD* 85, 200.9–10: ...σὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ καὶ βασιλίδι καὶ ἐκ βασιλέων τεχνέισι Ἀριάδνη..., in version O, the expression referring to Ariadne is added: ...πιστωτάτη..., while version P adds: ...τῇ πιστωτάτῃ αὐτοῦ γαμετῇ...

223 *VD* 91, 206.1–2: ...ἡ φιλόχριστος Ἀριάδνη τῆς βασιλείας...

224 *VD* 91, 206.3–4: ...διὰ τὴν τελείαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν πατέρων αὐτῆς πίστιν...

225 *VD* 92, 206.21: ...οἱ προλεχθέντες βασιλεῖς..., versions O and P add: ...εὐσεβεῖς...

226 *VD* 92, 206.28: ...τῶν εὐσεβῶν..., version O adds: ...βασιλέων...

to accept the gift, as he wished to be buried underneath the relics of Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael.

There is no mention in the above passages of Ariadne having ever visited Anaplus, or of Daniel ever trying to contact her. Even when Ariadne and her husband decided to have an appropriately dignified funeral prepared for the holy man, he did not respond or try to contact them. Daniel's attitude to the empress can be inferred only from his prophecy on Zeno's death and her future joint reign with Anastasius, where the holy man recognized her faith as perfect. Therefore, Daniel's approach to Ariadne is basically positive, much like the representation of her own attitude to the stylite, as seen in the relevant passage of *VD* 92. In the hagiographer's view, the legitimate empress was recognized by the holy man, while she was also obliged to hold him in veneration and commemorate him.

Generally speaking, imperial consorts are equated with the emperors and appraised accordingly. Throughout the *VD*, the empresses are mentioned, for the most part, in accounts of political developments of the period or in the context of matters relating to the respective emperors. Apart from Eudoxia, who was not a reigning empress, none visited Anaplus on their own. Daniel himself made no attempt to contact them either. Besides Ariadne and, possibly, Verina (*VD* 46), none of the empresses featured in the *VD* would be treated as a ruler in her own right. In spite of the absence of any closer rapport between the emperors' consorts and the holy man, relations seem to follow the pattern of those between Daniel and imperial authority.

2.3. Encounter with Gubazes, King of Lazica

According to the hagiographer, alongside the Roman emperors, those coming to visit Daniel included various figures from abroad, either rulers or common citizens. There are certain parallels between the text of *VD* 51 describing Gubazes' visit and the passage referring to Titus of Gaul, as will be shown later on. It is worth noting, however, that Titus was a visitor from the West, whereas Gubazes came from a kingdom in the East.

Gubazes²²⁷ was a ruler of Lazica and arrived in Constantinople in late 465 or early 466 in order to negotiate and sign a treaty with Leo I. The Emperor invited

²²⁷ *VD* 51, 169.6: ...ἐκεῖνον Γουβάζιον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λαζῶν... In versions V and O: ...τὸν βασιλέα, ὀνόματι Γουβάζιον... Gubazes co-ruled Lazica with his son. When the Roman Empire threatened him with an invasion, he sent his envoys to both the Romans and Persians. Most probably, this took place in 456, the year of the Roman attack on Lazica. Under the pressure of the Roman demand that either himself or his son abdicate, Gubazes abdicated the throne in favour of his son; at that time, he was also summoned to Constantinople. At the turn of 465 and 466, he visited Constantinople to negotiate a treaty with the Emperor Leo, shortly after the great fire of 2 September 465. His Persian attire and manners had initially provoked some hostility, but his kindness soon gave rise to friendly feelings. The account given in the *VD* pertains to this particular visit. Cf. BRAUND (1994), pp. 269–273

the king to accompany him on a visit to Daniel, most likely with the intention of enabling Gubazes to see and admire the holy stylite. As based on a number of other similar examples, the hagiographer suggests that it was the Emperor's custom to invite his guests to Anaplus. Leo presented Daniel as a genuine miracle of holiness. The good ruler, as Leo is considered to be, would not "keep" Daniel to himself, but joyfully share this great gift with others.

This chapter of the *VD* provides an interesting example of political arbitration, a role the holy man was called on to perform. The author states that the rulers discussed the issues in Daniel's presence and that both parties agreed on a mutually satisfactory treaty thanks to his mediation.²²⁸ In this way, Daniel acted in the capacity of a counsel, achieving the desired result, i.e., peace and accord. The necessary precondition for this success was the rulers' acknowledgement of Daniel's status (in other words recognizing him as a holy man); this was exactly what occurred since Gubazes²²⁹ prostrated himself before the stylite as soon as he had seen him and gave thanks to God for deeming him worthy of seeing such great mysteries. The hagiographer underscores the fact that the treaty had been concluded thanks to Daniel's personal involvement. The requirement for successful mediation was then the holy man's guaranteed impartiality and fairness, irrespective of the Emperor Leo's friendly relations with Daniel. As clearly noted, the agreement was satisfactory for both parties. The stylite would not have urged Gubazes to agree to terms as specified by Leo. Daniel was an impartial and fair counsel for both rulers, his conduct void of deceitful intent or double-dealing, and those who came to meet him were aware of this fact. The holy man's unbiased attitude and sense of justice originated from his very special position of aloofness and disengagement, which was further accentuated by his physical elevation. The author intends to communicate the impression that the encounter between Daniel and Gubazes proved ground-breaking for the talks, which had begun in advance.

Daniel's sanctity would continue to exert an influence on Gubazes thereafter as well. Otherwise, his holiness would have been somewhat limited. After his return home, Gubazes continued to maintain contact with Daniel; for the rest of his life, he would send letters, asking the holy man to pray for him.²³⁰ According to the hagiographer, this visit to the holy man proved to be a watershed moment in the king's life.

The hagiographer goes on to stress that Daniel's influence was not limited to the king of Lazica himself. In his kingdom, Gubazes would become an apostle of the holy

and PLRE, p. 515. For an analysis of the passages in the *VD* referring to Gubazes, see also BAYNES (1925), p. 398.

228 *VD* 51, 170.1–2: ...καὶ γίνεται ὁ ὅσιος μεσίτης τῶν συνθηκῶν, περὶ ὧν ἀλλήλους ἐπληροφόρησαν.

229 *VD* 51, 169.8: ...αὐτὸν...; version P adds: ...ὁ βασιλεὺς...

230 *VD* 51, 170.5: ...ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφων τῷ ὀσίῳ ἐζήτει τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔως τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ποιῶν.

man, Daniel gaining so much renown among the inhabitants of Lazica that if any of them happened to visit Constantinople, they would always hurry to Anaplus. In consequence, Daniel would become a sort of a patron figure for the kingdom of Lazica, even though it is not stated explicitly in the *VD*.

Another important aspect is the way in which the two sovereigns approached Daniel. They decided to meet with him in order to raise political issues for his consideration, and then listened to and acted upon his advice. Gubazes wrote letters to Daniel and many of his compatriots were to visit the holy stylite at Anaplus. This may have been an example of a client-patron relationship, as identified and described by Peter Brown,²³¹ with the provision that the Syriac holy man would usually act as a patron for the local population, while Daniel became a patron for figures in authority and rulers.

2.4. Encounter with Olybrius, the Later Emperor in the West (472)

As shown in *VD* 35, Eudoxia heard about the holy man from her son-in-law Olybrius after her return from Africa and soon after decided to meet with Daniel. It is worth noting that Olybrius was later to become, albeit very briefly, emperor in the West (472).²³² A scion of a Roman aristocratic family, he was a wealthy and influential man. In 461, he was a candidate for the throne of the Western Roman Empire, with Genseric's support. *VD* 35 suggests that Olybrius had already known Daniel or may have heard of him, as he had been residing in Constantinople since 455. The hagiographer goes on to say that he had gone to Anaplus at least once prior to the construction of the first column, during the period when Daniel had been residing at the temple (*VD* 35). Let us quote Eudoxia's words: "Everything I heard from

²³¹ Cf. BROWN (1971), pp. 80–101.

²³² Olybrius was a member of the aristocracy and one of the most prominent Roman senators. He married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia. They had one child, Anicia Juliana. They were married, most likely, in 454/455. In 455, he had escaped to Constantinople before the Vandals attacked Rome. At that time, he had visited Daniel at the church, where the latter had lived in the years 451–460. It is impossible then for Olybrius to have been taken to Africa by the Vandals. He wrote a letter to the empress Eudocia in Jerusalem demanding that she renounce the Eutychian heresy. Owing to his marriage to Placidia and Huneric's marriage with her sister Eudocia, Olybrius came to have relations with Genseric. After Majorian's death in 461, Genseric supported Olybrius' claims to the throne (presumably, he released the captive princesses as a gesture of friendship). In 464, he held the title of *consul posterior* in the East. In 472, he was delegated by the Emperor Leo I to Italy in order to broker peace between Ricimer and the Emperor Anthemius; he was bound to continue his mission in Africa and to make peace with Genseric, yet in the meantime he was proclaimed emperor in Italy by Ricimer, most probably in late March or early April. He died on October 23 or November 2 of the same year, during the seventh month of his reign. Cf. PLRE, pp. 706–708; CLOVER (1978), pp. 169–196; HENNING (1999), pp. 47–50; HEATHER (2000), p. 26; JANKOWIAK (2000), pp. 219–230.

my son Olybrius I have found more abundantly in your angelic presence and the prophecies which you announced to him about my coming here when you were still in the church are also known to me.”²³³ For this reason, Olybrius must have visited Daniel before 460. As seen, a member of the Imperial family should, in the author's opinion, ask the holy man for prophecies on his own life as well as on the future of his family. The *VD* also shows how the contact between an individual family member and the holy man would draw the whole family closer to the latter.

Curiously, the hagiographer does not mention the visit of such a notable figure, not even referring to the fact that he was later proclaimed emperor in the West; this occurs despite the fact that the author does refer to Eudoxia as empress even though she had received the title of *Augusta* in the Western Empire. This may have been due to the fact that Olybrius was considered as usurper by the Emperor Leo.²³⁴ It is also possible that the hagiographer was not very much concerned with the West, especially as by the time of the work on the *VD*, emperors were no longer proclaimed there, and the actual ruler of the Christendom resided in Constantinople. Perhaps, both these possibilities should be taken into account, as, at the moment of Eudoxia's return, Olybrius had not yet been proclaimed emperor (and, significantly, would not have held the title). On the other hand, I do not think the hagiographer would have missed another opportunity to glorify Daniel, especially through emphasis on the fact that the rulers of both East and West made pilgrimages to meet with the holy man. In all probability, therefore, the hagiographer was not interested in events connected to Daniel's presence at Anaplus up until the holy man's decision to take up residence upon the pillar.

2.5. Daniel's Relations with Figures of Authority, Officers, and Imperial Officials

Silentiarios Marcus

The first representative of Imperial authority mentioned in the *VD* is Marcus, whom the author defines as *silentarios*.²³⁵ He is featured in Ch. 23–25. The hagiographer

²³³ *VD* 35, 153.10–13: Πάντα, ὅσα ἠκούτισέν με τὸ τέκνον μου Ὀλύβριος εὗρον ἐκ περισσοῦ παρὰ τῷ σῷ ἀγγέλῳ· καὶ τὰς προφητείας δὲ ἃς ἀπήγγειλας αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας ἔτι ὧν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, οὐκ ἔλαθέν με.

²³⁴ Cf. JANKOWIAK (2000), p. 229.

²³⁵ *VD* 23, 145.15–16: ...σελεντιάριος ὀνόματι Μάρκος... He is an otherwise unknown figure. Cf. PLRE, p. 720. Initially, the *silentarios* was in charge of maintaining order and silence at the palace. He was subordinate to the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* and remained under the *magister officiorum*'s jurisdiction. The office was mentioned for the first time in an edict of 326 or 328. In 437, the *schola silentiarii* in Constantinople consisted of thirty members under the authority of three *decuriones*. Their functions were of an informal character: they served as Imperial officials summoning *Consistorium* assemblies and guarded the emperor during military campaigns. Low-ranking officials under Constantine I, they would become elevated to *spectabiles* in the 5th century, and their *decurioni* to

notes that he had been a friend of Daniel from the beginning.²³⁶ Having heard a conversation between Daniel and Sergios, he begged the holy man to be allowed to provide him with a column. In his response, Daniel praised Marcus' faith and called him "child."²³⁷ Shortly thereafter, Marcus²³⁸ sailed off.

He reappears in *VD* 25. Two days later, people carrying a column, i.e., the servants sent by Marcus,²³⁹ came to Anaplus, accompanied by the other two men who were to set it up. They erected the pillar, after which Daniel sent his blessings to the *silentarios*²⁴⁰ and let his servants go.

Marcus is not mentioned elsewhere in the *VD*. Nonetheless, the above passages are sufficient for a determination of the relations between Daniel and Marcus as most positive. It is known that the *silentarios* had been a friend of the holy man since the moment when the latter arrived at Anaplus. Daniel had a very good opinion of Marcus' faith and blessed him after the completion of the work. Marcus would immediately have undertaken all the necessary steps to assist Daniel in the realization of his plan to follow the example set by Simeon Stylites. He became the founder of his first column, thus providing the groundwork for the new path chosen by the holy man. This then is the most significant event in their mutual relations. Despite the fact that the *silentarios* had been a friend of the holy man for a long time, the author only makes a note of this one specific event, namely the erection of the pillar. The figure of Marcus may not have been sufficiently important to represent him in greater detail. It is also possible that the hagiographer, concerned primarily with the stylitic period of Daniel's life, provides only a very general view of the time antecedent to that period. In all probability, this was exactly the period when friendly relations between Daniel and Marcus developed.

It is evident then that the holy man had followers among figures of authority as well. They provided him with material support, e.g., in this particular case, with a column (which was similar to the functioning of many other monastic foundations).

Castrensis sacrae mensae Gelanios

Gelanios is mentioned for the first time in *VD* 25 where the account of the foundation and erection of Daniel's first pillar is given. The column founded by Marcus is said to

illustris in the 6th century. In the late 5th century, one of the *decuriones* of the *silentiarii* Anastasius I was proclaimed emperor. Following the 6th century, their role diminished and would remain purely ceremonial, cf. JONES (1986), pp. 571–572; KAZHDAN (1991n), p.1896. The events described in the *VD* took place in 460; SCHOLTEN (1995), pp. 71–72.

236 *VD* 23, 145.16: ...ἐξ ἀρχῆς φίλος ὢν τοῦ ὁσίου ἀνδρός... Most probably, the author refers to Daniel's arrival in the region of Constantinople.

237 *VD* 23, 145.19: ...τέκνον Μάρκε...

238 *VD* 24, 145.22: Τοῦ δὲ σελεντιαρίου...

239 *VD* 25, 146.8: ...ὑπὸ τοῦ σελεντιαρίου...

240 *VD* 25, 146.12: ...τῷ σελεντιαρίῳ...

have been erected on the land owned by Gelanios.²⁴¹ When one of Daniel's disciples climbed up the column to measure its height, he was spotted by the men watching over Gelanios' vineyard nearby, who approached and asked him where he came from and why he was measuring the column. He answered that he was not a stranger, as he was one of Daniel's disciples. Subsequently, he informed the holy man of the incident. Gelanios himself appeared in *VD* 27. On the following day, Gelanios' men returned and saw Daniel at the top of the column. They were amazed at the sight. Having received his blessing, they went to Constantinople and reported everything to Gelanios.²⁴² The news made him very angry at his servants for failing to keep proper watch over that part of his estate. He was also angry at Daniel for erecting the pillar on his property without permission. He went to see the Emperor and the Bishop of Constantinople to complain about the stylite. The Emperor did not respond to his complaint, while Bishop Gennadios gave him permission to have the intruder expelled. Consequently, Gelanios²⁴³ took several of his servants and went to the location on his estate where the holy man had placed his pillar. At that time, heavy clouds formed miraculously over that area and a heavy storm destroyed Gelanios' vineyard at the height of the season. Gelanios and his men fled from the site of Daniel's column with great difficulty, muttering among themselves in astonishment because of the unusual nature of the phenomenon. Gelanios approached the holy man and asked him who had allowed him to stay on that property and whether it was not better for him to remain at the temple. Gelanios then reproached Daniel for showing contempt to him, to the Emperor, and to the Bishop of Constantinople, and told the holy man that he had been empowered by both to take him down from the column. The account of the controversy continues in 28 *VD*. There Gelanios keeps repeating his demands. His relentless attitude led those present to believe that his con-

241 *VD* 25, 146.20: ...Γελανίω, τῷ τηνικαῦτα καστρησίῳ τῆς θείας τραπέζης τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος. Like Marcus, Gelanios is an otherwise unknown figure. He was a native of Mesopotamia, a "Syro-Persian" speaking Syriac. As depicted in the relevant chapters, in 460, at the time when Daniel took up residence on his first pillar, he had been a *castrensis sacrae mensae*. However, the dates of the beginning and the end of his tenure are unknown. He was the owner of the estate at Anaplus. Most of the *cubicularii* came from the territory of Persia, Armenia, or the Caucasus, cf. JONES (1986), p. 567. The office of *castrensis sacrae mensae* was basically restricted to eunuchs. It conferred the rank of *vir spectabilis* and the privilege of presence in the Imperial lodge at the Hippodrome. It involved the following duties: supplying provisions for the Imperial table, organizing banquets and receptions, consulting guest lists, etc. The office-holder was also in charge of providing food and drink for the emperor during his journeys, cf. GUILLAND (1967), vol. 1, pp. 237–241.

242 *VD* 27, 147.21: ...τῷ Γελανίῳ τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν τόπων.

243 *VD* 27, 148.1: ...ὁ Γελάνιος... The author consistently refers to Gelanios by using only his name or the pronoun: *VD* 27, 148.6: ...αὐτῷ...; *VD* 27, 148.8: ...ὁ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 28, 148.14: ...αὐτοῦ...; *VD* 28, 148.18: ...ὁ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 28, 148.24: ...ὁ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 29, 149.7: ...ὁ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 29, 149.18: ...ὁ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 30, 150.3: ...ὁ δὲ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 32, 151.16: ...αὐτὸν...; *VD* 33, 151.19: ...ὁ Γελάνιος...; *VD* 34, 152.17: ...ὁ Γελάνιος... The only exceptions are the above-mentioned *VD* 25, 146.20 and *VD* 27, 147.21, and also *VD* 32, 151.9–10: ...Γελάνιος ὁ καστρήσιος τοῦ βασιλέως...

duct was unfair or even unlawful.²⁴⁴ As they intimated, the site of the column was located at a certain distance from Gelanios' property. This unexpected opposition caused him to change his behaviour, as he must have realized that the situation might lead to unwelcome consequences. He spoke to Daniel in Syriac,²⁴⁵ asking him to pretend that he was indeed coming down from the column, as requested, while Gelanios would not let him touch the ground. The holy man agreed and the ladder was put up leaning against the pillar. Daniel stepped six rungs down. Suddenly, Gelanios ran up and prevented Daniel from descending further, telling him to go back up and requesting his prayers. He was also very worried, having noticed sores and swelling on Daniel's feet. Thereafter, Daniel returned to his place on top of the pillar, began to pray, and blessed all the people present there. Gelanios and his servants then descended the hill in peace.

The above account deals with a low-ranking representative of authority, who was the owner of the land. Daniel breached the law by having his column erected on Gelanios' estate without the owner's consent. As can be seen, however, the authorities responded without much haste, although the owner was allowed to enforce his rights. As it turned out, the holy man enjoyed considerable popular support and the enforcement of the law and of the owner's rights was not easy or safe for the authorities. Gelanios was compelled to seek a compromise solution that would be satisfactory to the both parties: this would enable Daniel to remain in the place assigned by God, while Gelanios could preserve his personal authority intact before the people gathered around the column. The hagiographer asserts that the holy stylite proved to be more influential than the official and, at the same time, more willing to reach a compromise. As a result, Daniel remained on his column, yet his status had progressed: the holy man was no longer an intruder, as the owner of the property allowed him to remain²⁴⁶ and validated his presence on the pillar by preventing him from coming down. For his part, Gelanios had not succeeded in having the uninvited guest evicted from his property, but managed to save face in a situation that was already beginning to take a turn for the worse.

The turning point in Gelanios' attitude towards the holy man was the moment when he had seen Daniel's sore feet. The hagiographer highlights this event, also suggesting that the owner should have seen the value of what the holy ascetic had been doing. As a result, the course of events leading to the resolution of the impasse would not be decided through compromise arising from the inability to enforce laws

²⁴⁴ VD 28, 148.14–15: ...ἄδικον καὶ παράνομον...

²⁴⁵ As noted before, Gelanios was a Syro-Persian from the territory of Mesopotamia (VD 28, 148.19–20: ...ἦν γὰρ Συροπέρης τῷ γένει ἐκ τῆς Μεσσοποταμίας...). According to Baynes, this term refers to a Syriac-speaking Persian subject. Cf. DAWES, BAYNES (1948), pp. 76–77.

²⁴⁶ Although Gelanios' rights to the site where the pillar had been set up may, as noted above, have been questioned, the hagiographer himself does not seem to have doubted them, as he states that Cyrus was told that Gelanios had been the founder of the second column: ...οὗτινος καὶ οἱ τόποι διαφέρουσιν... (VD 32, 151.10). Cf. VIVIAN (2010), pp. 152–153.

and property rights, but through the owner's admiration for the stylite's holiness. The form of asceticism chosen by Daniel and his endurance of pain and hardship were to have a crucial effect upon relations with the individuals present at the foot of the pillar. The natural consequence would be the further propagation of the holy man's ascetic endeavours; the last sentence of *VD* 28 reports that Gelanios told the Emperor Leo about Daniel's patience and perseverance.²⁴⁷

Gelanios' attitude underwent a complete and permanent change. In the following chapter, Gelanios returns several days later to see the holy man and asks him to agree that the present column be replaced by another larger one. He reiterated the same request in *VD* 30: having seen the miracle that had occurred upon Daniel's intercession,²⁴⁸ Gelanios was astonished and begged him to agree to the column replacement. Daniel consented and Gelanios returned home with the holy man's benediction.²⁴⁹ The hagiographer makes it clear that the official ought to make efforts to gain the stylite's favour and to receive his blessing; he should also provide Daniel with material assistance.

Daniel referred to that event in *VD* 32, when Cyrus,²⁵⁰ having learnt that Gelanios was the founder of the stylite's column, was outraged that the holy man allowed the column to be erected by someone who had treated Daniel with such audacity. The stylite explained that he had given his consent in order to avoid insulting Gelanios. Cyrus, he suggested, would have been more worthy, and Gelanios had been granted permission to build the column only out of courtesy. On the following day, Gelanios arrived with many servants to see to the erection of a new column.

To sum up, the hagiographer represents Daniel as a non-confrontational person. Despite his popular support and other advantages vis-à-vis the official, the stylite sought reconciliation and blessed him by way of acknowledgement for the approval and initiative shown by Gelanios. Still, as evident from the hagiographer's representation of this figure, cordial relations were not established with the man. No particular sympathy is revealed for Gelanios, who is mentioned for the most part only by name, at times with the designation of his office. In effect, Gelanios' initial hostility would remain, in the author's view, unforgiven, despite the fact that the official was to change his attitude completely. The author asserts that the holy man had the right to pass moral judgement on various figures in positions of authority.

247 A similar account can be found in *VD* 32, where the author describes how Daniel had driven out a demon dwelling in Sergios' son. Having seen the miracles, Gelanios came down from the hill and recounted the events in detail to the Emperor Leo and everybody at court.

248 The conversation between Gelanios and Daniel was interrupted by the arrival of a man named Sergios, to whom almost the entire *VD* 29 is devoted. Having seen Sergios' anguish, Gelanios was very moved and burst into tears, whereas the miraculous healing performed by the stylite filled him with awe.

249 On the following day, Gelanios sent in the necessary stone material for the steps, the base, and the pillar itself, as well as a group of workers and everything else needed to build a column. It would be erected within a week, cf. *VD* 30.

250 On Cyrus, see below.

As for Gelanios, his attitude to Daniel was hostile at first, because the stylite's presence on his estate had been perceived as intrusion. Subsequently, apparently out of necessity, he agreed to his presence, but impressed by Daniel's mortifications and miracles he eventually changed his approach to the holy man to such an extent that he proposed the building of a new pillar and would spread the news of the miracles at court, at the same time reporting to the Emperor on everything that had happened at Anaplus.

Jurist Sergios

Sergios is mentioned for the first time in *VD* 29. He was a jurist and came to Anaplus from Thrace or some other neighbouring region.²⁵¹ He brought Daniel his only son, a little boy named John, who was painfully afflicted by a demon. At the foot of Daniel's pillar, Sergios²⁵² fell down to the ground, crying and lamenting. He implored Daniel to have mercy on his son, as the latter had been plagued by an evil spirit for the last thirty days. The holy man answered the father²⁵³ that if he believed God could heal his son through Daniel, his request would be fulfilled in accordance with his faith. He then told the boy to drink some "oil of the saints" (ἔλαιον τῶν ἁγίων). As a result, the demon inside the boy promised he would leave his body within a week.

The account of these events is continued in *VD* 33–34. One week had passed since Sergios' arrival at Anaplus, during which the second column had been erected, and Gelanios came again with his men to relocate the holy man onto the new site. At that time, the demon inside the boy started screaming and left him by God's power. The holy man told Sergios²⁵⁴ to have the boy seated and to give him some more oil of the holy to drink, after which he healed the boy miraculously, and all the people present there were filled with awe. John prostrated himself before his father and begged him²⁵⁵ to beseech Daniel to give the boy a monk's habit. Sergios²⁵⁶ did not at first want to agree, as he wished his son would stay with him, but when the boy said he would run away, Sergios yielded to his pleading and asked Daniel to allow John to stay with the monks. After one year's time, John was given his habit. Prior to that, the holy man had sent a messenger for Sergios to come,²⁵⁷ after which he²⁵⁸ would

²⁵¹ *VD* 29, 149.10: ...τις Σέργιος (...) τὴν ἐπιστήμην νομικός,... Sergios is an otherwise unknown figure, cf. PLRE, p. 499. The events described above took place in 460. Cf. also VIVIAN (2010), pp. 153–154.

²⁵² *VD* 29, 149.12: ...ὅστις...

²⁵³ *VD* 29, 149.20: ...πρὸς τὸν γέροντα...

²⁵⁴ *VD* 33, 152.7: ...τῷ Σεργίῳ...

²⁵⁵ *VD* 34, 152.20: ...πατρί...

²⁵⁶ *VD* 34, 152.21: ...τοῦ γέροντος...

²⁵⁷ *VD* 34, 152.28: ...τὸν πατέρα...

²⁵⁸ *VD* 34, 153.1: ...ὁ πατήρ...

return home happy, praising God. John died after having lived three years of his good life.

The terse expression used by the author does not reveal whether Sergios was an official, but it is certain that he was a member of the ruling elite. The aim of the narrative on Sergios and John is to demonstrate the powers of Daniel, who miraculously healed a boy suffering from demonic possession. The hagiographer notes that the healing performed by the holy man had lasting effects, as John became a monk and died as a righteous and godly man. The story deals with a family problem, not a political issue. Sergios approached Daniel in connection with his son's suffering and that was the reason for his imploring the holy man in such a dramatic manner. In this case, Daniel acted as the benefactor of an authority figure. The holy man commended Sergios' faith and promised to help him, offering the spiritual assistance that would prove to be so effective. The hagiographer does not mention any further ties between the holy stylite and Sergios. Following on from John's healing, Sergios did not remain at Anaplus as the account says that he returned home overjoyed. It was his son who had chosen to stay at Anaplus. Throughout, the author mentions Sergios' profession as background information and it would have no bearing on events.

Ex-Consul Cyrus

Unlike figures previously discussed, Cyrus was a widely known person, mentioned in a number of other sources.²⁵⁹ Cyrus had known Daniel even before the latter took up his residence on the pillar at Anaplus. The hagiographer dedicates a whole chapter to him, providing a fairly detailed account of his life: Cyrus²⁶⁰ is described as a very godly and wise man, who owed his successful career to his great prudence. However, later, he would fall victim to Chrysaphios' conspiracy and was relegated, becoming

259 Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus came from Panopolis in Thebaid. He had two daughters. As a writer, he composed, among other things, epic poetry. He was a protégé of the empress Eudocia and held a number of offices prior to 439: in 426, he was appointed *praefectus urbi Constantinopoleos*, and again in the years 439–441; in that period, he had also served, concurrently, as *praefectus praetorio Orientis*. He carried out extensive construction projects in the capital, implemented the street lighting system and restored the city walls. Moreover, he supervised the works at the Baths of Achilles and built the Church of St Mary the *Theotokos*. In 441, he served as consul. His activity made him very popular among the people, which was disturbing to Theodosius II. The Emperor divested Cyrus of all his offices. In 443, Cyrus was forced to become bishop of Kotyaion in Phrygia at the instigation of Chrysaphios. After the death of Theodosius II, Cyrus resigned his bishop's office and returned to secular life in Constantinople, where he lived until as late as Leo I's reign. His previously forfeited property had probably already been returned to him by Marcian. He would also become renowned for his dedication to charity; cf. PLRE, pp. 336–339; AL. CAMERON (1965), pp. 497–502; CONSTANCE-LOS (1971), pp. 451–464; GREGORY (1975), pp. 317–324; AL. CAMERON (1982), pp. 217–289, his analysis of the relevant passages from the *VD* – pp. 247–254.

260 *VD* 31, 150.17–18: ...Κύρος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων γεγονώς...

the bishop of the small municipality of Kotyaion in Phrygia,²⁶¹ a position he was forced to accept in order to save his life. It was only after Theodosius II's death that he resigned his clerical status and his former secular offices were restored. He continued to hold these until his death during the reign of Leo I. Cyrus would help the poor by giving away all his property. As can be seen, the hagiographer's knowledge of the ex-consul's biography is quite extensive.

Cyrus²⁶² had a daughter named Alexandra, who was afflicted by an evil spirit. He brought her to Daniel, who at that time still resided in the temple at Anaplis. The holy man's prayers interceded and God released her from the demon's grip within a week. Since then, Daniel and Cyrus shared feelings of "passionate affection for each other."²⁶³

The above passage depicts Cyrus in very positive terms. In the hagiographer's view, he was an exemplar of many virtues, being wise, devout, charitable and prudent. He was also a very accomplished man, having held various high-ranking offices in the state administration. It was only due to the injustice done to him that he had temporarily been stripped of his ranks and titles and lived in exile in Phrygia. The author shows no objection to Cyrus' resignation of his priesthood, as the latter had been forced to accept his ordination. This favourable opinion of Cyrus would be confirmed by Daniel. In the previously discussed *VD* 32, Cyrus was outraged that the column had been founded by a man who had acted with so much audacity towards the holy man as it should have been erected by Cyrus himself. Daniel explained the reasons why he had agreed to Gelanios' request, reassured him, and said that all the people had been talking about the good will Cyrus had shown him²⁶⁴, while God would compensate Cyrus²⁶⁵ for the lack of opportunity to provide the column by granting him blessings commensurate with his faith. Afterwards, he blessed him and let him leave. Thus, in the light of the words cited by the author, Daniel would have considered Cyrus as more worthy of becoming a founder of the pillar than Gelanios.

The author suggests once again that a high-ranking person should even make an effort to become a founder as this was a source of splendour. In the hagiographer's view, prominent figures ought to emulate in paying homage to the holy man.

Cyrus is mentioned for the last time in *VD* 36. The chapter relates that Cyrus' elder daughter²⁶⁶ had been possessed by an evil spirit. Yet after she had spent

261 Kotyaion (Κοτυάειον, present-day Kütahya), a town in Phrygia at the strategic intersection of important roads, with a strongly fortified citadel. The location was a place of refuge or exile for many people, cf. Foss (1991a), p. 1154.

262 *VD* 31, 151.1: Οὗτος ὁ προαγορευθεὶς ἀνὴρ... In versions P, V: ...ἐνδοξος...

263 *VD* 31, 151.6–7: ...ἀγάπης διάπυρος...

264 *VD* 32, 151.15: ...σου...

265 *VD* 32, 151.17: ...σοι...

266 *VD* 36, 154.3–4: ...τοῦ προρηθέντος ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀνδρὸς Κύρου... The title ἐνδοξότατος was an official one – *gloriosissimus*, cf. SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 465.

some time in Daniel's presence, she was set free from the demon and returned home. It was then that Cyrus²⁶⁷ approached the holy man and asked him for his permission to have an inscription etched on the column. Although Daniel objected to the idea at first, Cyrus was so insistent²⁶⁸ that, in order to avoid disappointing him,²⁶⁹ the holy man allowed him to make the following inscription in verse:

"Standing twixt earth and heaven a man you see
Who fears no gales that all about him fret;
Daniel his name. Great Simeon's rival he
Upon a double column firm his feet are set;
Ambrosial hunger, bloodless thirst support his frame
And thus the Virgin Mother's Son he doth proclaim."²⁷⁰

The verse is a product of Cyrus' classical upbringing and education. Nonetheless, it extols the Christian ascetic whose knowledge of Greek may have been very limited. The hagiographer makes the point that the court elite educated in classical culture ought to show respect for the simple holy ascetic. Daniel's austere asceticism is juxtaposed with the affluence of the gods, yet he would prove to be much better: the Christian holy man is superior to the pagan gods. The poem also points to the holy man's vital role: as an intrepid intermediary between Heaven and Earth. The comparison drawn between Daniel and Simeon Stylites is meant to express the greatness of the former as well as to make the point that Constantinople was not inferior to Syria and could take pride in a holy man capable of emulating the asceticism of the stylite from Qal'at Sim'an.

The relationship between Cyrus and Daniel is depicted in very positive terms; it is even considered exemplary by the author. The first contact was established in con-

267 VD 36, 154.7–8: ...ὁ πολλάκις μνημονευθεὶς μεγαλοπρεπέστατος Κύρος... On the title μεγαλοπρεπέστατος – *most excellent*, see SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 738.

268 VD 36, 154.11: ...παρ' αὐτοῦ...

269 VD 36, 154.11: ...αὐτόν...

270 VD 36, 154.13–18: ...

Μεσσηγὺς, γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἴσταται ἀνὴρ,
πάντοθεν ὀρνυμένους οὐ τρομέων ἀνέμους·
τοῦνομα <μὲν> Δανιήλ, <μεγάλῳ> Συμεῶνι ὃ ἐρίζει,
ἔχνια ῥιζώσας κίονι διχθαδίῳ,
λιμῷ δ' ἀμβροσίᾳ τρέφεται καὶ ἀναίμονι δίψῃ,
υἱέα κηρύττων μητρὸς ἀνευρογάμου.

In his discussion of the inscription's text, Alan Cameron notes that it must have been etched on the third column, founded by the Emperor Leo I, not on Gelanios' column, as "double" could only refer to the former one. Besides, the third pillar would have survived until Daniel's death, and this explains the author's assertion that the epigram could still be seen there at the time of the work on the VD. Therefore, Cyrus' authorship of the inscription remains disputable. Despite previous doubt, Cameron holds that Cyrus may be regarded as the author of the inscription; cf. AL. CAMERON (1982), pp. 253–254, cf. also DAGRON (1982), p. 273. On the inscription, its reconstruction and analysis, cf. DELEHAYE (1966), pp. 117–124.

nection with, and thanks to, the holy man's healing powers, resulting in very friendly relations. Cyrus' attitude was based on love and on his efforts to further increase Daniel's glory; he would even vie with others for the stylite's friendship. In turn, Daniel could pass judgements regarding the moral conduct of various prominent figures. As can be seen, this man's appraisal is definitely favourable. By way of example, it is worth mentioning some of the expressions used by the hagiographer: ἐνδοξότατος, πιστότατος, σοφός, or μεγαλοπρεπέστατος. In the hagiographer's eyes, Cyrus was an exemplary nobleman who owed his brilliant career to his prudence, and whose disruption was caused by the malicious actions of wicked men. A figure like Cyrus would recognize Daniel's holiness from the beginning and accompanied the holy man as much as he could, entrusting all his concerns and worries to Daniel. On the other hand, the stylite would repay the good nobleman with friendship and assistance, holding him too in high regard.

Imperial Architect

This figure appears in *VD* 48. Leo I assigned him with the task of building a column for Daniel. However, the construction of the pillar would prove inadequate and the holy man found himself in mortal danger during a terrible storm (*VD* 47). When the Emperor was informed of the misfortune, he became very angry at the architect (whose name is not mentioned in the *VD*)²⁷¹ and sentenced him to death. Shortly thereafter, Leo hurried to Anaplus. At the sight of the damage done to the column and the peril that the holy man had to face during the storm, he was astonished and praised God. When Daniel heard of the death sentence,²⁷² he begged Leo to pardon the architect. The Emperor retracted his sentence and ordered the architect to make a thorough and immediate repair of the pillar.

This brief account makes no reference to any direct relations between the architect and Daniel, as the former came to Anaplus to see the damage done to the stylite's column, not to ask for Daniel's intercession with the Emperor. The holy man, of his own will, asked the Emperor to pardon the architect, and Leo acceded to this request. As can be seen, Daniel is depicted here as a patron of those in danger or distress, including court officials such as the architect.

Magister utriusque militiae per Orientem Jordanes

Unlike the above-mentioned architect, Jordanes asked Daniel for his intercession.²⁷³ In *VD* 49, the author describes Leo's fall from horseback at Anaplus. The Emperor

²⁷¹ *VD* 48, 166.5–6: ...τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος...

²⁷² *VD* 48, 166.12–13: ...τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος...

²⁷³ Fl. Jordanes was the son of Vandal John. His father's death was allegedly caused by Chrysaphios. *Magister utriusque militiae vacans et comes stabuli* in 465, as the *VD* reports. With the benefit of Daniel's support, he obtained Leo's pardon on the condition that he renounced Arianism and con-

was angry at Jordanes,²⁷⁴ the officer in charge of the Imperial stables. When the latter heard of Leo's anger, he was terrified and hurried to Anaplis to seek Daniel's help. On the holy man's advice, he renounced Arianism and converted to the orthodox faith. Considering the circumstances, Leo pardoned Jordanes.

Jordanes was aware of how much Leo valued and revered Daniel. In his eyes, the stylite was the only person who could rescue him from the Emperor's anger. He realized that the holy man could exert much influence on the ruler and procure his forgiveness for the *magister's* alleged fault. In consequence, he decided to go to Anaplis, in spite of his Arian faith. Daniel did not reject his earnest plea for help, but he also took advantage of the situation to convert him to the orthodox faith. In the hagiographer's view, seeking Daniel's protection or assistance was tantamount to adopting a true confession of faith. In the end, Jordanes managed to obtain the Emperor's forgiveness.

Jordanes reappears in VD 55. After his crackdown on Ardabur's conspiracy, Leo led a solemn procession to Anaplis, accompanied by the Isaurian Zeno. On that occasion, Daniel heard the news of Jordanes' appointment as *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem* in Ardabur's place.²⁷⁵ The holy man rejoiced at Jordanes' elevation²⁷⁶ and advised him on many matters in the presence of the Emperor and his entourage. Then, before heading back to Constantinople, they all received Daniel's blessing.

The author describes the positive consequences that followed from Jordanes' conversion, including his eventual elevation to the highest rank in the Imperial army. Daniel responded to the Vandal commander's promotion with great joy. The holy man acted here as a patron to a high-ranking figure, to whom he would dispense counsel and blessings. He is portrayed as the person responsible for Jordanes' conversion, and thus also as the father of the commander's later success. The hagiographer does not say anything about Jordanes' reaction to the holy man's advice; nor does he show any greater esteem for the Vandal-born officer. He does not use any particularly respectful terms or expressions in connection with Jordanes' name, save for the designation of his official functions.

verted to the orthodox faith. *Magister utriusque militiae per Orientem* in the years 466–469, he succeeded Ardabur the Younger. His return from the East to the capital took place, most likely, in 469. In 470, he was appointed consul, triggering Anagastes' revolt, cf. PLRE, pp. 620–621. On the *comes stabuli*, see STEIN (1949), pp. 796–798.

274 VD 49, 167.11: ...κατὰ Ἰορδάνου στρατηλάτου, κόμητος σταύλων αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντος... In versions O and V: Ἰορδάνης δέ, κόμης τῶν σταύλων ὑπάρχων...

275 VD 55, 174.22–23: ...καὶ περὶ Ἰορδάνου, ὅτι ἔζωσεν αὐτὸν στρατηλάτην ἀνατολῆς ἀντὶ Ἀρδαβουρίου.

276 VD 55, 175.1: ...περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου...

Comes Titus of Gaul

As VD 60 reports, the Emperor Leo heard of a man named Titus of Gaul,²⁷⁷ who commanded his own detachment of the *bucellarii*.²⁷⁸ He sent for Titus and granted him the rank of *comes*²⁷⁹ in exchange for joining the Imperial service. As in the case of Gubazes, the Emperor told Titus of Gaul to go to Anapulus and receive Daniel's benediction. The stylite welcomed him and gave him much advice based on the Scriptures, instructing him that he ought to be like a blooming tree bearing fruit. Titus admired the extraordinary character and perseverance of the holy man. He became enlightened through Daniel's teachings and wished never to leave the holy stylite, explaining that "The whole labour of man is spent on growing rich and acquiring possessions in this world and pleasing men; yet the single hour of his death robs him of all his belongings, therefore it is better for us to serve God rather than men."²⁸⁰ With these words spoken, he prostrated himself before the holy man and begged him for his permission to stay with the monks. Daniel acquiesced to this request, after which Titus²⁸¹ sent for his men and told them he was not their commander anymore, as he wanted to become a soldier of God. He also told them to stay with him or leave, distributing some of his gold among them, according to each man's rank. Two of them decided to stay with Titus, while the others parted with him and went their own way.

The hagiographer also suggests that the Emperor Leo made it his custom to send newly arrived visitors to Anapulus or, in the case of more eminent personages, would accompany them himself on such visits. The *comes* Titus was one of the figures sent there to receive a blessing from Daniel, considered a guarantee for success in service. This is a clear indication that the secular authorities were supposed to seek a higher

277 VD 60, 179.1: ...τινος ἐνδρανοῦς ὀνόματι Τίτου... The figure otherwise unknown, cf. PLRE, pp. 1122–1123 and HEINZELMANN (1982), p. 706 (the author falsely states that the information regarding Titus can be found in the *Vita Danielis Scietiotis*). Mathisen makes reference to Titus as an example of the emigration of the Roman aristocracy of Gaul in the latter half of the 5th century, cf. MATHISEN (1993), p. 64. In my opinion, Leo's enlistment of Titus was one of the moves intended to create a counterweight to Aspar's enormous influence in Constantinople in the 460s (the chronological arrangement of the *vita* indicates that the action had taken place prior to 471). Similar actions included the favours and promotions given to Zeno and other Isaurians in the later period. On Leo's formation of a personal bodyguard unit, composed exclusively of members of non-Germanic origin, see STEIN (1959), pp. 358–359.

278 The *bucellarii* had been soldiers enlisted in private service of the military, and occasionally civil, authorities since the early 5th century. They were recruited from all classes and represented various ethnic backgrounds. The *bucellarii* commanders often achieved considerable influence in the Empire and assumed the highest-ranking offices (e.g., Belisarius), cf. DIESNER (1972), pp. 321–350; JONES (1986), pp. 665–668.

279 VD 60, 179.4: ...τοῦ κόμητος ἀξίᾳ...

280 VD 60, 179.13–16: Πᾶς ὁ μόχθος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα πλουτήσῃ καὶ κτήσῃται ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀρέσῃ ἀνθρώποις· ἡ δὲ μία ὥρα τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ πάσης τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ ἀλλότριον καθίστησιν· βέλτιον οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν δουλεύειν Θεῷ ἢ περ ἀνθρώποις.

281 VD 60, 179.20: ...ὁ προλεχθεὶς γενναϊότατος ἀνὴρ Τίτος...

sanction for their decision-making. However, the Emperor could not have expected what would come to pass at the foot of the pillar: motivated by the holy stylite's teachings, Titus decided to desert the Imperial service, intending to change his life completely by devoting himself to God. In the hagiographer's view, there was nothing wrong in abandoning the service. It is not known whether Titus saw Daniel many times prior to his withdrawal from the world or whether his decision was caused by that one visit to Anaplus alone, as reported. The latter option emphasises the power of the holy man's words, as well as the fact that the very sight of Daniel led Titus to prostrate himself before him. The gesture of prostration can be seen on many occasions in the *VD* and became, so to speak, a required element of the ceremonial taking place at the foot of Daniel's column.²⁸² This particular practice seems to have drawn on the relevant passage from the Book of Daniel, where the King Nebuchadnezzar prostrated himself in honour of the prophet.²⁸³ This may have been the author's intentional attempt to formulate a ritual resembling the one observed at the Imperial court. The ritual as such placed an even greater emphasis on the holy man's role and significance.

Abandoning the Imperial service would entail the loss of all the titles²⁸⁴ and any further possibilities for serving the ruler. Daniel must have been aware of that fact when he fulfilled the *comes*' request and allowed him to join the community.²⁸⁵ Titus' words ("it is better for us to serve God rather than men") are of great significance here: the Divine order, as represented by Daniel, is something much better than (and superior to) the human one embodied in the person of the Emperor.

Likewise, as can be seen in the case of Gubazes, the emanation of the holy man's powers constitutes the key question. Titus' decision to join the monks at Anaplus was followed by two of his men following his course, while the remainder were given fair compensation in gold. Once again, it is worth noticing certain features of the specific relation between the holy man and authority figures: justice, conversion, and emanation of the holy man's power from other people in his presence.

When the Emperor Leo heard the news of Titus' decision, he dispatched a messenger,²⁸⁶ with the message that Titus had been brought from Gaul to join the Imperial service and then sent to Daniel in order to receive his blessing, not to abandon his office. Titus²⁸⁷ replied to the messenger that ever since he heard the holy man's teachings, he had been dead to the world, and from then on Daniel would speak and decide for him. The *comes* would abide by his decision firmly. He would not be afraid of the Emperor, whom he no longer served, as now he served no one but

²⁸² Let us recall examples such as Gubazes, the archimandrites sent by Akakios, etc.

²⁸³ Cf. *Dn* 2:46.

²⁸⁴ At *VD* 61, 181.6, the hagiographer refers to him as ἀπὸ κομήτων Τίτος.

²⁸⁵ Titus' dereliction of his service caused a conflict between the Emperor and Daniel, as discussed above.

²⁸⁶ *VD* 61, 180.10: ...πρὸς Τίτον...

²⁸⁷ *VD* 61, 180.13: ...ὁ Τίτος...

God, relying on the man chosen and sent by God (i.e., Daniel). Two distinct orders are represented in this narrative: the worldly one, as represented by Leo, and the Divine one, embodied by Daniel. In his choice of the Divine order of things, Titus would not fear the earthly ruler, because he was now dead to the worldly order.

Titus' attitude was, of course, disrespectful, even audacious, towards the Emperor, and it may well have deserved punishment. As in many other cases, Daniel would act as an arbitrator between these two orders. His letter, mentioned in a further section of *VD* 61, mollified the emperor's anger and persuaded him to agree to Titus' decision to remain under Daniel's authority. The ruler's recognition of the holy man's authority amounts to the acceptance of the superiority of the Divine order.

The consequences of this choice can be seen at the close of the chapter. Shortly thereafter, Titus and his two companions would be recognized as worthy of receiving their habit; they would also proceed to advance on the good path they had chosen, especially Titus. Spiritual growth and progress on the path of righteousness would be the consequence of having surrendered to Daniel's authority. The hagiographer makes it very clear that serving God is superior to serving the emperor, and so there was nothing wrong in leaving the Imperial service.

Titus also appears in the following chapters (*VD* 62–63), where he is called one of the brethren and commended for his ascetic mortifications. *VD* 62 describes his ascetic practices,²⁸⁸ whereas the following chapter refers to the Emperor Leo's frequent visits to the already famous ascetic and goes on to give some details of his death. The hagiographer describes the *ex-comes* in very positive terms, calling him μακάριος²⁸⁹ and ᾠδιδμος.²⁹⁰

A reference to Titus is also made in *VD* 64, which is concerned with the figure of Anatolios, one of Titus' disciples, who after the death of his spiritual mentor would continue his ascetic practices. Becoming a figure of great renown, he relocated to Katabolos, where he established a small monastery with around twenty monks, still in existence at the time of the hagiographer's work on the *VD*.

Ex-Consul Dagalaiphos

VD 80 features the figure of the patrician named Dagalaiphos. During the controversy over the usurpation of Basiliskos (475/476), following Daniel's return from his intervention at the Imperial palace, the holy man and the crowd were walking, after

288 *VD* 62, 182.10–16. In the chapel's corner, Titus suspended himself on the lines drawn under his armpits so that his feet would not touch the ground. His daily ration consisted of three dates or dried figs and a portion of wine. He also installed a board in front of him so that he could lay his head on it and sleep; he could also read a book resting thereon.

289 *VD* 63, 182.20.

290 *VD* 63, 183.12.

nightfall, past the house of Dagalaiphos.²⁹¹ The owner leant out the window and, having seen that the people huddled around made it hard for Daniel to pass through, ran down the stairs with his servants and invited the holy man to rest at his house near the Forum Tauri.²⁹² As an excuse, he told the crowd that he wanted the holy man to bless his household. He had a litter brought for Daniel and told his servants to stand around so that the holy man would not be bothered by the crowd. Finally, they carried Daniel into the church.

The above account provides no clue as to Daniel's attitude towards the ex-consul, as in this situation the holy man remained passive. As the hagiographer reports, the patrician's intention was to enable Daniel to have a rest, while at the same time he notes that, in Dagalaiphos' eyes, the holy man served as a living eulogy, brought inside the ex-consul's household to bless it. It is evident then that he must have seen a holy man in Daniel. It is also worth noting that the account does not reveal whether Dagalaiphos was an Arian or an orthodox Christian.²⁹³ During Basiliskos' usurpation, he allied with the opponents of the usurper, which should come as no surprise considering the fact that Ardabur's son-in-law and Aspar's former ally would not have supported the deposed ruler's adversary. The hagiographer uses the official title ἐνδοξότατος in conjunction with his name and suggests that a member of the nobility did well to seek the blessings that would come with Daniel's presence. In addition, the nobleman should be aware of the holy man's needs and, accordingly, take care of them.

Herais

The figure of the patrician woman Herais is mentioned three times in the *VD*. For the first time, as in the case of Dagalaiphos, during the controversy arising from Basiliskos' accession to the throne (*VD* 82). Upon receiving news of Daniel's presence in the vestry of the cathedral, Herais²⁹⁴ arrived and prostrated herself before Daniel, clutching his foot and begging for his intercession as she wanted to have a son. When she saw the terrible condition of the holy man's feet, she admired his great endurance.

291 *VD* 80, 196.12–13: ...τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρικίου Δαγαλαΐφου... Fl. Dagalaiphos descended from the Germanic military aristocracy. He was the son of Fl. Areobindus; he married Godilsthea (Ardabur's daughter and Aspar's granddaughter). He assumed his consulship in 461; cf. PLRE, pp. 340–341.

292 The Forum Tauri was situated in the centre of Constantinople, west of the Senate; its modern counterpart is called Beyazit, cf. C. MANGO (1985), pp. 43–45.

293 In 512, the orthodox population of Constantinople, dissatisfied with the Emperor Anastasius' rule, shouted out the name of Dagalaiphos' son, Fl. Areobindus Dagalaiphos Areobindus, as a candidate for the throne, cf. STEIN (1949), p. 177; PLRE, p. 114 and GREGORY (1991a), p. 162.

294 *VD* 82, 197.10: ...ἡ πατρικία Ἡραΐς... Herais was the wife of Anthemios, who must have been a high-ranking figure, judging by the titles held by his wife and his son's plan to marry the Emperor Zeno's niece, Longina. Thus, presumably, Herais' family must have been closely associated with the Emperor's family; cf. PLRE, p. 543.

She handed him a rope, begging him to tie it around his sore foot and give it back to her. The holy man did not want to grant her request, and he only yielded after Akakios and some other people present pleaded with him to do so. He laid the rope on his foot and gave it back to her, telling her that she would give birth to a son whom she would name Zeno. The holy man's words came true: Herais²⁹⁵ conceived and gave birth to a boy whom she named Zeno.

Another reference to Herais appears near the end of Daniel's life, on the occasion of the holy man's predictions about his death and funeral (VD 93–94). He prophesied that Herais,²⁹⁶ due to her spiritual devotion, would not allow his remains to be taken down in any way other than according to her instructions, and exhorted that she should be obeyed. Daniel's prophecy would come true in the sense that Herais²⁹⁷ made a number of generous gifts and other contributions in preparation for Daniel's funeral,²⁹⁸ and provided funds for building a spiral structure around the pillar in order to bring down the holy man's body. As predicted, no one made an attempt to stop her.²⁹⁹

The last mention of Herais can be found in VD 100, where the funeral ceremony is described. The author adds that the leaden coffin in which Daniel's body was interred had been provided by Herais as well.³⁰⁰

Herais was another member of the senatorial aristocracy with whom Daniel came into contact and maintained relations. Along with Cyrus and Titus of Gaul, Herais was one of the very few persons who had established a closer relationship with the holy man. As she had met him for the first time during the period of Basiliskos' usurpation and her name would become closely associated with the time of the stylite's death and funeral, they must have kept up relations for more than ten years. Of all the figures mentioned in the VD and discussed here, she was the only one who attended Daniel's funeral. According to the text, her attitude towards the stylite was marked by feelings of attachment and affection, as indicated, among other things, by the resources expended for the funeral preparations. Previously, she had manifested her faith through her belief that the eulogy spoken by Daniel would give her the son she so desired.

For his part, Daniel accepted her presence, granted, though reluctantly, her initial request, and, above all, entrusted her with the necessary preparations for his entombment and burial, allowing her to carry everything to completion. The hagiogra-

²⁹⁵ VD 82, 197.24: ...ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐνδοξοτάτη...

²⁹⁶ VD 94, 208.11: ...περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλης Ἡραΐδος...

²⁹⁷ VD 94, 208.15–16: Ἡ γὰρ προρρηθεῖσα ἐνδοξοτάτη δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἡραΐς...

²⁹⁸ Herais supplied large quantities of candles and oil, money and gold to be given away to the poor, as well as a great amount of wood (VD 94, 208.15–19).

²⁹⁹ Theodoret of Cyrillus mentions a wealthy noble lady named Zenobiana, who had founded a tomb for Marcian at Chalkis; however, the latter did not wish to be buried there, cf. THEODORET, *HR* III, 18.

³⁰⁰ VD 100, 212.12–13: ...ἡ προαγορευθεῖσα πιστοτάτη ἰλλουστρία Ἡραΐς...

pher's opinion of this patrician woman is positive as well; he exalts her faith, twice referring to her by the official title ἐνδοξοτάτη. He points out that the devout noblewoman should provide the holy man with material support and concern herself with his solemn and dignified funeral.

Hippasios

Hippasios,³⁰¹ whom the author calls the “second centurion,” appears in *VD* 88.³⁰² The hagiographer has a high opinion of his godliness, stating that he had been very rich in Christ, and if anybody in his household, a family member or a servant, fell ill or was in pain, he would send letters to Daniel, asking him for his prayers, put the holy man's reply on the body of the sick person, and God would immediately heal the sufferer. However, the centurion would not go to Anaplius himself (in the author's opinion, because of his humility), as he considered himself unworthy of seeking the stylite's intercession.

Considering the title used by the author, Hippasios must have served in the military in Constantinople. Unfortunately, insufficient information does not make it possible to determine his actual rank. Referring to him as “centurion” may be only metaphorical, but, on the other hand, this may have been his actual position in the army. In the latter case, his rank would not have been high, as the 5th-century centurion ranked below the officer.³⁰³ The hagiographer describes him in very favourable terms, praising his faith and humble demeanour, in clear reference to the Gospel and the centurion of Capernaum. Hippasios had never met Daniel in person, we are told, but remained in contact with the holy man via correspondence, while Daniel replied to his letters and aided him as much as he could.

Primicerius sacri cubiculi Kalapodios

Let us now pass on to the last person associated with the court, as mentioned by the hagiographer, i.e., the *cubicularius* named Kalapodios. There are two references to this figure in the *Vita Danielis Stylitae*. The first is when he³⁰⁴ was sent by Leo I to

301 *VD* 88, 203.2: ...Ἰππασίῳ... He is an otherwise unknown figure.

302 *VD* 88, 203.2: ...τῷ δευτέρῳ τούτῳ ἑκατοντάρχῃ... Apparently, in reference to the two passages in the Gospel (Matthew 8:5–13; Luke 7:1–10), where a centurion from Capernaum heard of Jesus and sent Him a request, asking for his servant to be healed.

303 Cf. JONES (1986), pp. 634, 640–646.

304 *VD* 49, 168.3: ...Καλαπόδιον τὸν πρῖμικήριον τοῦ κουβουκλίου... Kalapodios is an otherwise unknown figure, cf. PLRE, p. 254; he cannot be identified with the *cubicularius* Kalapodios, from the reign of Theodosius II, cf. SCHOLTEN (1995), pp. 235 and 250. *Primicerius*, along with his superior *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, headed the large staff of *cubicularii*. The office of *primicerius* was assumed by way of seniority for a specified period of time. In the *Notitia*, the *primicerius* held the *spectabiles* rank, cf. GUILLAND (1967), vol. 1, p. 305; JONES (1986), pp. 567–569; KAZHDAN (1991j), pp. 1719–1720; SCHOLTEN (1995), pp. 70–71.

assure Daniel that the Emperor had not suffered any injury as a consequence of his fall from horseback. The other reference can be found near the close of the work (VD 89). It says that he founded³⁰⁵ a chapel dedicated to St Michael the Archangel at Parthenopolis³⁰⁶ and came to see the holy man in order to ask him to assign several of his monks to that chapel. Daniel complied with his request.³⁰⁷

In the both cases, Kalapodios appears in the context of other events. In VD 49, the account deals with the Emperor Leo I's fall from horseback at Anaplus and the figure of Jordanes, while Kalapodios only acted as the Emperor's messenger. VD 89 concerns the healing of a mentally disabled boy named Damian, whereas his relocation, along with a group of several monks, to the chapel erected by Kalapodios would only fulfil Daniel's prophecy according to which the boy was to serve God.

It can be seen then that very little is known about the relations between Daniel and the *cubicularius* except for the fact that the latter had requested the holy man for monks to serve at his newly built chapel, and it is evident that he must have held the stylite in high regard. This is just another example of a representative of the highest echelons of authority coming to Daniel with a request.

Daniel's relations with various courtiers, officials, soldiers, and other figures of high rank were overwhelmingly positive. The only exception is the eunuch Gelanios, who remained in conflict with Daniel for some time. These figures would communicate with the holy man for a variety of reasons: seeking healing for themselves and their loved ones (Sergios, Herais, Hippasios), begging for a benediction (Titus, Dagalaiphos) or asking for assistance (Jordanes). Others came to Anaplus in an official function or to carry out tasks entrusted to them (the anonymous architect, Kalapodios). Only a few of these established closer relations with Daniel, notably Marcus and Cyrus, and, eventually, Herais and Titus. Some did not forge any closer links with Daniel, even after they received the assistance or favour they had asked for, e.g., Sergios. Needless to say, the fact that the VD offers no clues on whether there was any further contact between Jordanes or Dagalaiphos and Daniel, does not mean that no such relations existed.

In any case, the author takes much interest in the fact that many important figures came to Anaplus and describes instances of such visits much more frequently than those of ordinary people. On a very few occasions, simple people can be seen coming to the holy man in order to ask for his intercession or benediction outside of religious celebrations and other special occasions, when throngs of people would gather at the foot of Daniel's column. Nevertheless, those visitors are usually

³⁰⁵ VD 89, 204.2–3: Καλοπόδιος δέ τις κουβικουλάριος,...

³⁰⁶ Parthenopolis, located in Macedonia, on the peninsula of Sithmia (present-day Longos), west of Mount Athos, cf. FESTUGIÈRE (1961), p. 168. On the private foundations, see THOMAS (1987), pp. 1–36.

³⁰⁷ Daniel fulfilled Kalapodios' request by sending him the monks the latter had asked for and a boy named Damian (healed by the holy man), described in the previous section of VD 89. The young man sang psalms at the chapel and served as an altar boy.

depicted as crowds of anonymous people, and no attention is paid to particular individuals.

All interactions between important figures and the holy man brought good results and led to successful conclusions, even in the specific case of Gelanios. Requests for healing were granted and blessings given. In all probability, they were all meant to demonstrate the greatness of Daniel, his miraculous powers, as well as his renown, considering the fact that many people in authority, including those coming to Anaplus from very far away, wanted to meet him. Daniel was a person whose assistance could prove infallible and whose blessings were extraordinarily valued. In the course of a legal dispute or conflicting loyalties between the Emperor and Daniel, high-ranking people would place the holy man over the ruler.

As noted, the sole figure who found himself in a temporary dispute with Daniel was Gelanios. At first, he showed hostility towards the holy man, but gradually, having become a witness to the stylite's ascetic practices and many miracles, Gelanios would come to change his attitude altogether and turned into an advocate of Daniel's sanctity. There are two essential features here that were to have a crucial impact on the relations between the holy man and high-ranking officials or other authority figures: the specific form of his asceticism and the power of his intercession with God. Therefore, as can be seen, the hagiographer represents a certain model to be followed by prominent authority figures: they ought to seek the holy man's assistance and serve him as far as possible. The author's vision is addressed to all members of the elite, i.e., dignitaries and officials of various ranks, other representatives of the educated classes in high offices, military officers and soldiers, noble ladies, and even people of Barbarian origin.

2.6. Daniel's Relations with Bishops

In the *VD*, Daniel comes into personal contact with the four Bishops of Constantinople: Anatolios (449–458), Gennadios (458–471), Akakios (471–489), and Euphemios (490–496). The relations between the holy man and several bishops since the moment of Daniel's arrival at Anaplus until his death can therefore be observed. These relations predate those with the emperors, which is not surprising in view of the purpose of the holy man's arrival in the region of Constantinople. The Bishop of Constantinople attended the ceremony of Daniel's funeral, while the Emperor Anastasius did not. Nonetheless, the author seems to dedicate less attention to the stylite's relations with the Bishops of Constantinople than to those with the emperors (twenty-five chapters of the work), and they would frequently take place in consequence of his dealing with the latter.

Apart from the Bishops of Constantinople, the *VD* also features Cyrus, Bishop of Kotyaion in Phrygia, discussed in one of the subsections above,³⁰⁸ and the unnamed Bishop of Ancyra, who made no direct contact with Daniel.³⁰⁹

Anatolios

The first Archbishop who Daniel met in person was Anatolios.³¹⁰ *VD* 17 reports that some simple presbyters from St Michael's Church at Anaplus, incited by the evil spirit, took their complaint against Daniel to Anatolios,³¹¹ accusing the stylite of heresy in spite of the fact that they could not communicate with him because Daniel spoke Syriac. The hagiographer commends the bishop's prudence, addressing the priests as follows: "If you do not understand his language, how do you know that he is a heretic? Leave him alone, for if he has been sent by God he will be established; but, if it is otherwise, he will go away of his own accord before you chase him out."³¹² In this way, the bishop spoke in Daniel's defence.

The bishop must have been held in very high regard indeed, as the priests returned home and caused no difficulties for some time. Unfortunately, once again instigated by the Devil (*VD* 19), they made another appeal to Anatolios,³¹³ asking the bishop to order Daniel out of the temple and accusing the holy man of being an impostor.³¹⁴ Anatolios³¹⁵ sent his deacons to break in and take the holy man into the City. When Daniel appeared before Anatolios,³¹⁶ the bishop asked him who he

308 *VD* 31. 32. 36.

309 *VD* 87 – the chapter tells the story of a man who travelled from the East to see Daniel. On the way to Constantinople, he was attacked, robbed, and beaten. The robbers also wounded him by cutting the sinews of his knees. He was taken to the Bishop of Ancyra, who had him placed at the hospital and tended to him there; afterwards, he provided him with money and some men to carry him to Constantinople. Upon the news of this event, Daniel thanked the good bishop for the benevolence shown to the traveller and rewarded his men with gifts. Daniel is shown as an authority appreciative of the bishop's good deed.

310 Patriarch Anatolios of Constantinople was born in Alexandria. He was ordained priest in Alexandria and served as *apokrisiarios* of Patriarch Dioskoros, delegated to the Imperial court in Constantinople. In December of 449, he became Bishop of Constantinople. Since the Council of Chalcedon (451), he had defended the orthodox church teachings and attained, through the so-called Canon 28 of the Council, precedence before the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, and the jurisdiction over the whole of the East. He died on 3 July 458. Cf. BAUTZ (1990), cols. 159–160.

311 *VD* 17, 137.11–13: ...κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐπισκόπῳ, λέγω δὴ τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἀνατολίῳ τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. In versions P and V: ...κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦνομα Ἀνατολίῳ.

312 *VD* 17, 137.13–16: "Εἰ οὐκ οἶδατε τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ, πῶς ἐπίστασθε ὅτι κακῶς φρονεῖ; ἑάσατε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀπεστάλη, σταθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἄλλο τι ὑπάρχει, πρὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς διώξητε, ἑαυτῷ ἀπέρχεται..." Cf. Acts 5:34–39, with a similar statement (Gamaliel to the Sanhedrin).

313 *VD* 19, 139.2: ...πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον... in versions P and V: ...πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀνατόλιον...

314 *VD* 19, 139.5: ἐπιθέτης – fraud, impostor. Cf. SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 500.

315 *VD* 19, 139.5–6: ...ὁ μακάριος Ἀνατόλιος...

316 *VD* 19, 139.9: ...μακάριον Ἀνατόλιον... in versions P and V: ...ὁ ἐπίσκοπος...

was, where he came from, and the content of his faith. Through an interpreter, Daniel uttered a flawless confession of faith (unfortunately, his words are not quoted!). Thereupon, Anatolios³¹⁷ stood up and hugged Daniel, imploring him to stay at the bishop's palace and sending the deacons home.

Without any hesitation, the bishop, whom the author describes here in very favourable terms (μακάριος), recognized the sincerity of Daniel's ascetic practice. Unlike the Emperor Leo, he did not need any further evidence of his orthodoxy. Being a saintly and devout man himself, he was able to identify and recognize the sanctity in Daniel.

To dispel any doubt that the entourage might harbour as to the holiness of the Syriac stranger, the hagiographer provides an account of a serious illness that had befallen the bishop (VD 20).³¹⁸ Thanks to Daniel's intercessory prayers he would be healed by God, after which the holy man asked the bishop to allow him to leave. Anatolios³¹⁹ did not want to part with Daniel and wished that he would stay. The holy man continued to entreat Anatolios to give him permission to leave, and also to revoke the excommunication of the people who had previously slandered him before the bishop. Afterwards, Anatolios asked Daniel to pardon his attempts to make the stylite stay, and added that God had blessed him with Daniel's presence. He called the holy man "your holiness"³²⁰ and explained he had been apprehensive about letting Daniel go, thus surely exposing him to mortal danger. He also begged Daniel to let him build a cell on the outskirts of the City, wherever the holy man might wish to settle.

Nonetheless, Daniel still begged the bishop³²¹ to send him back to the place where God had guided him. He gave up on the possibility of settling in Constantinople, although that was his originally intended destination.³²² Eventually, the bishop told his attendants to lead Daniel out of his quarters at the palace, and, showing all due respect,³²³ to locate him once again in the temple where he had previously resided.

In all of the three chapters discussed above, Anatolios is depicted as a venerable man endowed with great wisdom. He did not unquestioningly believe the accusations made by the Anaplus priests and decided to evaluate the holy man himself. He immediately came to recognize Daniel as a servant of God and did not want to part from him, especially following Daniel's miraculous healing of Anatolios. The bishop agreed, albeit reluctantly, to Daniel's return to his hermitage and did not

³¹⁷ VD 19, 139.13: ...ὁ μακάριος Ἀνατόλιος...

³¹⁸ VD 20, 140.1: ...ὁ ἐπίσκοπος... in versions P and V: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

³¹⁹ VD 20, 140.9: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

³²⁰ VD 20, 141.1: ...σὴ ἀγιωσύνη...

³²¹ VD 20, 141.7: ...σὴν ἀγιωσύνην...

³²² This is a characteristic feature, identical with the situation depicted in the *Vita Hypatii*. The holy man was bound for Constantinople, yet finally settled on the outskirts of the capital.

³²³ VD 20, 141.8–9: ...μετὰ δόξης πολλῆς κελεύει...

keep God's blessing, embodied in the holy man's person, to himself, giving him back to the multitude of pilgrims and visitors arriving to see the holy man in the seclusion of his hermitage, with many of them being healed. Let us also note the title Anatolios employed to address Daniel: "σὴ ἁγιωσύνη," which is ordinarily used in reference to bishops.³²⁴ Daniel addressed the bishop with the same title, whereas the hagiographer consistently refers to Anatolios as μακάριος,³²⁵ which is indicative of his respect for the bishop. Likewise, Daniel's prayer for the ailing Anatolios and the bishop's miraculous recovery would testify to the holy man's concern and solicitude for him. However, the latter would neither feel nor exert his full authority over the holy man. He had no power or authority to make Daniel stay and keep him by his side, as the holy man was subordinate to God alone. Still, it is not known for certain why the bishop did not want to let him go at first. He may have envisaged Daniel as his spiritual counsel.³²⁶

Gennadios

The Patriarch Gennadios, Anatolios' successor, represents a different story.³²⁷ His acquaintance with Daniel did, however, begin in somewhat similar circumstances. In *VD* 27, Gelanios, the aforementioned owner of the estate, wished to have Daniel evicted from his property and appealed to the Emperor Leo and the Archbishop Gennadios.³²⁸ Even in the first sentence, the difference in the author's treatment of the two bishops is evident. While Anatolios is called "holy" several times, Gennadios is simply referred to as "Archbishop". The hagiographer seems to stress this difference at *VD* 27, 25, where, at the close of the sentence, he states that during those events Gennadios had been the Archbishop of the City of Constantinople, following the death of the blessed Anatolios.³²⁹

324 Cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 19.

325 *VD* 17, 12; 19, 5–6; 19, 9; 19, 13; 27, 26.

326 In the 5th century, Archbishops of Constantinople were assisted by the office of *synkellos*, who was a personal counsel and a spiritual guide serving the bishop. In a later period, the *synkellos* would often succeed the deceased bishop, cf. PAPADAKIS (1991), pp. 1993–1994.

327 Patriarch Gennadios of Constantinople (born ca. 400; d. sometime between 17 and 20 November 471). He was a presbyter, the hegumen of a monastery in Constantinople, and a well-educated man. The Emperor Leo I made him Patriarch of Constantinople in August or September of 458. Gennadios was a staunch defender of the Council of Chalcedon. He deposed Timothy Ailouros and maintained very good relations with the Pope. He wrote a number of homilies and commentaries on the Scriptures, e.g., on all the epistles of St Paul, for the most part preserved only in fragments. There are also some extant fragments of his pointedly anti-Cyrian polemical writing against the Twelve Chapters of Cyril. He was also renowned as a miracle-worker, cf. DIEKAMP (1938), pp. 54–108; ALTANER, STUIBER (1990), pp. 454–455 and DECLERCK (1990), pp. 130–144.

328 *VD* 27, 147.25 : ...τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Γενναδίῳ...; in version V: ...Γενναδίῳ...

329 *VD* 27, 147.26: ...ὁ γὰρ μακάριος Ἀνατόλιος ἤδη ἀναπέπαιτο.

There may have been one more difference between the two Patriarchs. Unlike his predecessor, Gennadios failed to acknowledge Daniel's view of the issue and granted permission to Gelanios to have Daniel removed from the pillar.³³⁰ In fact, however, the two cases are different in as much as the aforementioned accusations of the priests of Anaplus were of a purely religious nature and referred to the holy man's alleged heresy, whereas Gennadios was only concerned with legal aspects. Indeed, Gennadios may not have considered himself to be competent to resolve the issue in any other way, this being the domain of the law and not religion. This may help explain Gennadios' somewhat "superficial" attitude vis-à-vis Daniel. On the other hand, the chapter offers no information on Daniel's own approach to Gennadios.

Gennadios reappears in *VD* 41. The chapter deals with the aforementioned vision of a calamity that was to afflict Constantinople. It was a prophecy that Daniel had received from God. He communicated it to the Emperor Leo and Bishop Gennadios,³³¹ asking them to order propitiatory prayers in hopes of averting the disaster. Unfortunately, both Gennadios and the Emperor ignored the warning because of the approaching holiday celebrations and forgot about it afterwards. Once again, the author remarks that the bishop did not have the prudence of Anatolios, with consequences seen in *VD* 45. Still, it should be noted that the bishop is called μακάριος in the relevant passage of *VD* 41.

The most interesting section dealing with relations between Daniel and Gennadios is the one that can be found in *VD* 42–44. The Emperor Leo, having realized how much he owed to Daniel, sent his *silentarios* to the Archbishop,³³² asking the latter to honour Daniel with priesthood. However, Gennadios was reluctant to ordain the holy man a priest and sent excuses and justifications to the Emperor instead. The procrastination irritated Leo, who dispatched a second order to the Archbishop,³³³ urging him to go to Anaplus and perform the ordination.³³⁴ The tone of the Emperor's message frightened Gennadios into taking action; accompanied by several priests, he went to meet with Daniel, who had already been informed of the purpose of the bishop's visit. Gennadios³³⁵ asked Daniel (addressing him as "father") to bless all those who had just arrived to see him.³³⁶ The holy man refused, asserting that it was the

330 *VD* 27, 147.27 – p. 148.1: Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· “Ὡς δεσπόζων τῶν τόπων κατάγαγε αὐτόν· ὅπου γὰρ ἦν, κακῶς ἦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἐξ ἐμοῦ.”

331 *VD* 41, 157.18–19: ...τῷ μακαρίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Γενναδίῳ...

332 *VD* 42, 158.7: ...τῷ προμνημονευθέντι ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...; in versions O and V: ...τῷ μακαρίῳ Γενναδίῳ τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

333 *VD* 42, 158.11–12: ...πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Γεννάδιον...; in versions O and V: ...αὐτῷ...

334 *VD* 42, 158.12–13: “Εἰ βούλει ἀνελθεῖν, ἀνελθε, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ ἀπέρχομαι καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γίνεται.”

335 *VD* 42, 158.16: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

336 *VD* 42, 158.16: ...πάτερ...

Archbishop³³⁷ who should bless Daniel and everybody else. Thereupon, Gennadios³³⁸ responded that he had long wanted to come to Anaplus and ascend the ladder to the top of Daniel's column in order to enjoy his prayers³³⁹ and receive the fullness of his blessings. He also excused himself for arriving so late by saying that he had been preoccupied with urgent matters of the Church.³⁴⁰ Despite the bishop's entreaty for a ladder, Daniel refused to answer. The holy man's adamant attitude did not change until the evening. Having realized that in such circumstances there was nothing more he could do, the Archbishop³⁴¹ told his archdeacon to begin the prayer of consecration. Standing up and praying, Gennadios ordained the holy man a priest. To make it absolutely clear that the sacrament had been administered to Daniel, Gennadios addressed the holy man in the following words: "Bless us, sir priest; from henceforth you are a priest by the grace of Christ; for when I had prayed God laid His hand upon you from above."³⁴² The people who had gathered around the column repeatedly exclaimed that Daniel was worthy of becoming a priest.³⁴³ Thereafter, the crowd around the column and the Archbishop himself³⁴⁴ begged the holy man to permit them to put up the ladder, arguing that he did not have to refuse anymore as the ordination he had wanted to avoid had already been administered. Daniel gave his consent, and the bishop³⁴⁵ climbed up the ladder to the top of the pillar with the Body and the Blood of Christ in a chalice. After the salutations, they gave the Holy Communion to each other. Following the completion of the ceremony, Gennadios³⁴⁶ returned to the City and went to the Imperial palace in order to report the events at Anaplus to the Emperor Leo.

337 Daniel uses the term of address "Your Holiness" – VD 42, 159.1: ...σὴ ὁσιότης...; in versions O and V: ...ὑμῶν ἀγιωσύνη... The title ἡ ὁσιότης was used to address the emperor, bishops, priests, monks, as well as, collectively, participants in a synod, cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 976.

338 VD 42, 159.2: ...ὁ μακάριος Γεννάδιος...; in version V: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

339 Herein, Gennadios addresses the holy man: ...τὴν ὁσιότητά σου... (VD 42, 159.5).

340 VD 42, 159.5–6: ...εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας...

341 VD 43, 159.12: ...ὁ ἐπίσκοπος...; in versions P and V: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

342 VD 43, 160.2–4: "Εὐλόγησον ἡμᾶς, κύρι ὁ πρεσβύτερος· ἐκ τῆς δεύρο ἱερεὺς εἶ χάριτι Χριστοῦ· ἐμοῦ γὰρ εὐχὴν ποιήσαντος, ὁ Θεὸς ἄνωθεν τὴν χειρὰ σοι ἐπέθηκεν." On the validity of priestly ordinations administered by Gennadios "from a distance," see DELEHAYE (1923), p. lvi. A number of sources relate cases of ordinations performed without the ordainee's knowledge or consent, and still recognized as valid, cf., for instance, THEODORET, *HR* XIII, 4, where Bishop Flavian ordained the unaware Macedonius during the Holy Mass and informed him of the fact only afterwards; Macedonius was outraged and began to berate the bishop for having done so. Conversely, there are opinions expressed in the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* on the invalidity of Theodore's ordination administered by Bishop Theodosius (it took place when the holy man had been only eighteen years old, with no witnesses present), cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 21.

343 A similar exclamation was raised by the factions at the moment of the Imperial coronation, cf. DAGRON (1996), p. 75.

344 VD 43, 160.6: ...τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

345 VD 43, 160.8: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

346 VD 43, 161.1: ...ὁ ἐπίσκοπος...

Throughout the chapter, Gennadios' conduct is odd and rather ambiguous. Initially, he was very reluctant to grant Leo's request and showed no inclination to ordain Daniel a priest. However, afraid of the Emperor's anger, he went to Anaplus and there his behaviour changed completely. The hagiographer seems once again to point to the fact that visitors standing in front of the holy man's pillar would change their attitude. Actually the bishop's initial objection to the idea of Daniel's ordination may have been due to the fact that he had never met the holy man. He had, he claims, long wished to pay a visit to Anaplus, but this seems to be somewhat contradicted by his initial procrastination over the ordination.

Is it then possible that the bishop was not content with Daniel's personal authority, his relations with the Emperor and many other people, and was apprehensive about the combination of spiritual authority and priestly ordination? In any case, the author makes it clear that Gennadios ordained Daniel a priest only on the Emperor Leo's orders, as noted at the close of *VD* 43, where Gennadios arrived at the Imperial palace to report the course of events to the Emperor.

At the foot of the column, Gennadios acted in a very respectful way towards Daniel, addressing him *πάτερ, τὴν ὁσιότητά σου, κύρι ὁ πρεσβύτερος*. He made an excuse for his absence and made every effort to ordain Daniel a priest. Faced with the stylite's refusal, the bishop even went so far as to implore him to agree to putting up a ladder.

What was then the actual position of the Bishop of Constantinople at Anaplus? The author seems to argue that the bishop subordinated himself to Daniel's authority, and that meeting at the top of the column depended on the holy man's will. To make this happen, the bishop had to climb up the ladder. As soon as he had arrived at Anaplus, Gennadios asked Daniel to bless him and everybody else, arguably testing the holy man's humility. He did however recognize Daniel's precedence at Anaplus while, possibly, and at the same time, attempting to avoid acknowledging that authority through procrastination and postponement of his visit there.

The holy man for his part approached the Archbishop with all due respect. He addressed him *σὴ ὁσιότης* and stated that it was Gennadios who should bless everybody, including the stylite himself; he also humbly refused to accept the priesthood offered. Nonetheless, he was clearly the superior authority at Anaplus as he did not allow Gennadios to put up the ladder and ascend to the top of the column. Likewise, he refused further answers (cf. the conclusion of *VD* 42), thus breaking off communication. In the end, the encounter at the top of the pillar could be seen as a meeting of two equal figures, greeting and dispensing the Holy Communion to each other, with the reservation that it was the bishop who had to ascend to the level occupied by the holy man.

The hagiographer does not criticize the bishop for his procrastination and several times calls him *μακάριος*.³⁴⁷ Indeed, though the reader's impression may be that

³⁴⁷ *VD* 42, 158.11; 42, p. 159.2. Gennadios is depicted very positively by the editors of the O and V

Gennadios is represented in a slightly ironic way, as a bishop controlled by the emperor, the author raises no objections, and seems to consider this a natural state of affairs.

The passage from *VD* 44, where the Emperor Leo, edified by Daniel's mortifications, asked him to agree to the placement of a double column for him to stand on, can be read as complementary to the above events. Upon completion of the task, Gennadios³⁴⁸ and nearly the entire population of the City went to Anapulus, where they witnessed the holy man leaving the old pillar and walking to the newly constructed double column over planks positioned between the two.

Gennadios (this time not identified by name) can be seen in *VD* 58 one last time.³⁴⁹ Here the Emperor had the relics of St Simeon translated from Antioch and instructed the bishop³⁵⁰ to announce that the deposition of the remains and all-night prayers would be held at St Michael's Church in Anapulus. On the following day, he took his seat in the grand carriage with the relics and set out for the hill at the head of a great throng of people. After the solemn celebration, the Archbishop,³⁵¹ accompanied by the clergy, left the church and sat on the throne placed in front of Daniel's column. Gennadios³⁵² asked the holy man to deliver a sermon and afterwards proceeded to lead the orations. Finally, and prior to their departure, the holy man blessed all the attendees.

As in *VD* 27, Gennadios is not called "blessed". Here the author does not even mention him by name. The bishop went to Anapulus on the Emperor Leo's orders, as in *VD* 42, not of his own initiative.³⁵³ However, the hagiographer reports that Gennadios accepted Daniel's position and importance, showing his respect and yielding to the holy man the privilege of preaching to the people, thus limiting his own role to presiding over the liturgical celebration. He did accentuate his own rank by having the bishop's chair placed in front of the pillar and taking his seat there, while simultaneously accepting Daniel's prominent position and role at Anapulus. This is further underscored by the fact that after the celebration it was Daniel, not Gennadios, who would bless those present before they returned home.

versions, as they call him "holy" more often than the other versions: *VD* 42, 158.26 (O, V); 42, 159.14 (O); 42, 159.17 (O); 42, 159.23 (O, V).

348 *VD* 44, 161.11: ...ὁ ἐπίσκοπος...; in versions O, P, V; 44, 161.28–29: ...ὁ προλεχθεὶς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γεννάδιος...

349 Simeon Stylites died in 459. Leo I probably had his relics translated to Anapulus only after 465, as implied by the structure of the *VD* and the fact that Daniel became a particularly significant figure for the Emperor only after the great fire of Constantinople in 465. As the translation must have taken place shortly after that date, Gennadios must have been the bishop who presided over the celebrations, rather than Akakios who became Bishop of Constantinople in 472.

350 *VD* 58, 176.23: ...τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

351 *VD* 58, 177.6–7: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

352 *VD* 58, 177.8: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

353 Both of these passages stress Bishop Gennadios' dependence on the Emperor, who would interfere in Church affairs on many occasions.

In this particular account, Daniel had no personal contact with Gennadios. Nonetheless, the holy man granted the bishop's request and delivered a sermon to the people, eventually joining the celebration presided over by the bishop.

Generally speaking, relations between the holy man and Gennadios were very much influenced by the Emperor Leo. At first, the bishop was rather ill-disposed towards Daniel; he objected to his priestly ordination, failed to visit Anaplus over a long period of time, and would even give his permission for the stylite's eviction from Gelanios' estate. Only the Emperor's firmly expressed request made him visit Anaplus. At that place, however, he treated Daniel with all due respect, recognizing his authority over the area sanctified by his presence, and deferring to his decisions. Still, unlike Anatolios, he did not visit Daniel on his own initiative. Gennadios is depicted as a figure whose attitude was, so to speak, passive towards Daniel; he would not try to resist the holy man, yet he would not defend him, and was rather tardy in carrying through his priestly ordination. The hagiographer does not emphasise Gennadios' negative attitudes to Daniel; if these existed, they were well concealed in the *VD*, possibly due to the author's respect for the office of bishop. It appears that his conception of an ideal bishop was one who protected and supported the holy man, whereas the fact that church authorities might not have shown as much commitment as the Emperor in this regard results in the hagiographer's mildly expressed disapproval.³⁵⁴

In the light of the hagiographical account, Daniel treated the bishop with respect. While acknowledging the dignity of the bishop's office, Daniel would not subordinate himself to Gennadios within his own "territory". Daniel firmly demonstrated his independence, just as he had done with Gennadios' predecessor. The author's efforts notwithstanding, a certain discrepancy between two aspects of the Church, the hierarchic and the charismatic, is evident. In the author's view, the charismatic ought to take precedence over the hierarchic, though this opinion is expressed in moderate terms.

Akakios

Another bishop featured in the *VD* is Akakios.³⁵⁵ This relationship is specific, as it is depicted entirely in the context of the conflict between Akakios and Basiliskos, where the holy man allied with the bishop.

³⁵⁴ As Julia Seiber argues, unlike Gennadios, Leo enjoyed the opportunity of easy access to Daniel, cf. SEIBER (1977), p. 70.

³⁵⁵ Akakios had been Patriarch of Constantinople from March 472 to 26 November 489. Previously, he had been in charge of an orphanage in Constantinople. During the revolt of Basiliskos and after the usurper had issued his Monophysitic *Encyclical*, Akakios remained in opposition. He sought Rome's support and deposed Peter Mongos, the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria. Later on, however, he began to seek reconciliation with Monophysites: Peter Mongos was restored to the See of Alexandria, whereas Akakios formulated the *Henotikon*, promulgated by the Emperor Zeno on 28

Akakios is mentioned for the first time in *VD* 70. The chapter recounts his conflict with Basiliskos, who placed the orthodox faith at the capital in serious danger and attempted to discredit Akakios³⁵⁶ with the intention of bringing about his deposition. However, upon receiving news of the ruler's actions, all the monks gathered at the Great Church with the aim of guarding and protecting Akakios,³⁵⁷ who ordered that the curtains of mourning be suspended within the church. Unfortunately, Basiliskos refused to address or give any reply to those present in the church and did not change his hostile attitude towards Akakios. In these circumstances, the bishop and the archimandrites³⁵⁸ decided to notify Daniel of developments in Constantinople.³⁵⁹

The above chapter is not concerned directly with Daniel, as it introduces the reader to the dispute between Basiliskos and Akakios. The holy man is only mentioned in the final sentence of the chapter, in connection with the urgent message dispatched by the Archbishop and the archimandrites. In the author's view, Akakios' decision is self-explanatory: at a critical moment, when the Church of Constantinople and the shepherd were in peril, the only way forward was to seek the aid and assistance of the patron and protector of the Church and the City of Constantinople, namely the stylite Daniel at Anapulus. Through this act, Akakios recognized Daniel's overt or official patronage over the City as a whole, a decision Akakios' predecessor would not have made, who acquiesced only to Daniel's superior authority in Anapulus.

In turn, *VD* 71 portrays Daniel's attitude to Akakios. Even prior to the arrival of the Archbishop's messengers, Basiliskos had paid a visit to Anapulus, having previously sent a message through his *cubicularius* Daniel to the holy stylite. In his confrontation with Akakios the Emperor endeavoured to secure the support of the holy man (famed for being the patron of emperors), thus attempting to consolidate his own position. At the same time, he intended to make Daniel believe that the Archbishop had been involved in an unjust campaign against the ruler. Contrary to Basiliskos' expectations, the holy man gave no credence to the Emperor's arguments and called the ruler a "tyrant," accusing him of supporting Monophysitism and attacking the Church and its orthodox priests. Daniel clearly aligned with the Archbishop, who³⁶⁰ was informed, along with the faithful, of the holy man's steadfast position.

July 482. The *Henotikon* deferred to the Councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and the Twelve Chapters of Cyril. The document condemned both Nestorius and Eutyches, but it passed over the issue of Chalcedon. This policy led to differences with Pope Felix III, which resulted in the Acacian schism. The Rome synod of 484 condemned Akakios. His policy of attempting to seek compromise and reconciliation with the moderate Monophysites failed to gain much support in the East as well, cf. FREND (1973), pp. 170–190 and ΚΟΣΙΝΣΚΙ (2010b), pp. 63–97.

356 *VD* 70, 187.8–9: ...τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἀκακίῳ τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

357 *VD* 70, 187.12: ...ἀρχιεπισκόπου [Ἀκακίου – added in versions O and V]...

358 *VD* 70, 187.21: ...ὑπὸ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τῶν ἀρχιμανδριτῶν...

359 Frend calls Daniel Akakios' "trump card" in his conflict with Basiliskos, cf. FREND (1973), p. 172.

360 *VD* 71, 188.20: ...τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀκάκιον...; in version P: ...τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀκακίῳ...

They assembled at the Great Church and, amid much cheering and crying, rejoiced over Daniel's support for their cause.

As a dedicated servant of God, Daniel did not hesitate to stand up against the heretical ruler and, undaunted by the prospect of Basiliskos' anger, voiced his support for the legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople and the orthodox Church. The author makes it clear that Daniel should be seen as the patron of the emperor and the City of Constantinople, but, above all, as a herald of God and a protector of the Church and the orthodoxy of the faith. Exclamations raised by the people, likening Daniel to the Biblical prophets Daniel and Elijah, leave little room for doubt.

On the next day, and following on from Basiliskos' unsuccessful visit, Akakios³⁶¹ delegated a group of archimandrites³⁶² to Anapulus, to implore Daniel, to whom he referred as "holy man,"³⁶³ to come forth to defend the Church and the Archbishop, arguing that they were being dispersed by "fierce wolves".³⁶⁴ The Archbishop's envoys arrived at Anapulus and prostrated themselves before the holy man's column. Moved by their humble demeanour, Daniel asked the envoys the purpose of their visit. Upon hearing his words, they stood up and stated that he should take action and rescue the Church from the current storm, and also the Archbishop Akakios,³⁶⁵ as the latter was in mortal danger. Daniel told the archimandrites to wait until God's will was revealed to him. During prayers at night, Daniel heard a voice telling him to go, without hesitation, along with the fathers and fulfil his mission. Obedient to God's order, he came down from the pillar to join the envoys and sail back to the City.

VD 73 is a direct follow-up to the above account. The archimandrites and Daniel arrived at Akakios' cathedral. The news that the holy man had arrived and was taking a stand together with the bishop³⁶⁶ spread around Constantinople and everybody, even the virgins living in seclusion, immediately hurried to the church to see Daniel. At this point there is a surprising twist to the hagiographer's reporting of events: throughout the next several chapters up until VD 81, Akakios is absent, and the leadership of the orthodox party in the capital is held by Daniel. The crowd reportedly chanted the following words: "To you we look to banish the grief of the Church; in you we have a high priest; accomplish that for which you came; the crown of

361 VD 72, 189.1: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀκάκιος...

362 VD 72, 189.2: ...τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἀρχιμανδριτῶν.... The archimandrites in question were: the blessed Abraham of the monastery of St Kyriakos, Eusebios, dwelling near the Exakionion, Athenodoros of the monastery of Stoudios, and Andrew, the exarch's vicar. Version V adds Domnos from the monastery of Dios. There were more, whose names are not mentioned. The title θεοφιλέστατος was used to refer primarily to bishops, deacons, priests, and monks, but also the emperor, see LAMPE (1961), p. 642 and SOPHOCLES (1914), p. 579.

363 VD 72, 189.7: ...τὸν ὅσιον ἄνδρα...

364 VD 72, 189.13: ...ὑπὸ ἀνημέρων λύκων...

365 VD 72, 189.22: ...καὶ ἱερέα...

366 VD 73, 190.12: ...σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ...; in version P: ...ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

your labours is already yours.”³⁶⁷ Referring to Daniel as ἀρχιερεύς, i.e., “bishop”³⁶⁸ placed him on a pedestal as leader of the Church of Constantinople in a time of difficulties. Daniel was not opposed to assuming the role of the leader of the City: comforting the people gathered in the church, calling on them to persist in their prayers for Akakios,³⁶⁹ and writing a letter to Basiliskos on behalf of the Church. In effect, he became the actual leader of Constantinople, as confirmed by Basiliskos, who ceded the control of the City to the holy man and sailed to the Hebdomon.

On account of Akakios’ absence in the following chapters, the leadership of those resisting the usurper remained in Daniel’s hands. Only in *VD* 81 does the Archbishop reappear. Along with the archimandrites, all the clergy, the monks, the people,³⁷⁰ he greeted Daniel on his return to the cathedral. After the greeting, those present praised God for all the wondrous things that had come to pass. They accommodated the holy man at the sacristy and let him rest. Again, Daniel can be seen at the centre of the hagiographer’s account, whereas Akakios would remain somewhere in his shadow, greeting him on his return from the Hebdomon and taking care of his accommodation and rest. The returning Daniel was saluted by all the social classes of the Church, according to the custom for the arrival of an arch-prelate, and the holy man had in fact become an arch-prelate in terms of this hagiographical narrative.

This impression is even stronger in the next chapter, which is concerned with the events involving the patrician woman Herais. Let us recall that she begged Daniel to allow her to tie a rope around his foot, which she would then receive back as a eulogy. Daniel refused her wish at first, but Akakios and all the devout people³⁷¹ implored³⁷² the holy man to do so. Thanks to their intercession, Daniel eventually complied with Herais’ request. It is notable that the Archbishop begged Daniel to help Herais, thus demonstrating his belief in the holy man’s powers, and seeing no impropriety in beseeching Daniel for a miracle.

The final reference to Akakios is made in the account of the last stage of the controversy in Constantinople, found in *VD* 83–84. Despite the fact that the cathedral was the sole scene for the events as they unfolded, Daniel remained the key protagonist. Significantly, Basiliskos sent his messengers to the holy man, not to Akakios. It was Daniel who stated his condition that the ruler must come to the cathedral if he wished to seek reconciliation with the Church. Indeed, even though the Archbish-

367 *VD* 73, 190.16–19: “Τὸ πένθος τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺ ἄφελε· τὸν ἀρχιερέα παρὰ σοὶ ἔχομεν· δι’ ὃ παρεγένου, ἀγώνισαι· ὁ στέφανος τῶν κόπων σου ἄρτι ἐστίν.”

368 Cf. LAMPE (1961), p. 239.

369 *VD* 73, 191.4: ...ὕπὲρ τοῦ ποιμένου...

370 *VD* 81, 196.24–25: ...τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀκακίου καὶ τῶν ὁσίων [πατέρων καὶ – Ρ] ἀρχιμανδριτῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εὐαγοῦς κλήρου καὶ τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων μοναχῶν καὶ τοῦ πιστοτάτου λαοῦ.

371 *VD* 82, 197.17–18: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀκάκιος...

372 *VD* 82, 197.18–19: ...παρεκάλουν...

op³⁷³ greeted Basiliskos at the shrine, holding the Scriptures, and was, as the hagiographer says, welcomed hypocritically by the Emperor, the ruler and the Archbishop³⁷⁴ went shortly after the prayers to meet with the holy man. Both³⁷⁵ prostrated themselves before the holy man in the presence of the faithful at the church. After greeting them, Daniel advised them to seek a peaceful resolution and to desist from acting with hostility towards one another, as discord between them would lead to enormous turmoil. The Emperor then proceeded with his apology, and when the people assembled in the church began to cry out their support or disapproval of him, the Emperor and Akakios³⁷⁶ remained prostrate before the holy man.

This account is continued in *VD* 84. The holy man summoned the Imperial secretary and told the Emperor to make a public justification, which Basiliskos did with his proclamation, concluding that this was a justification made “before God and the holy man.”³⁷⁷ In the presence of the people, he made peace with the holy man, the faithful, and the Archbishop,³⁷⁸ after which he returned to his palace.

Several aspects of the above account are noteworthy. At a certain moment Akakios seems to be treated on a par with Basiliskos. The holy man exhorted both parties to live in peace and to avoid any further hostilities. Both fell prostrate before Daniel in token of their homage. This therefore constitutes the height of Daniel's elevation, as he had become the most important figure in Constantinople, treated with the utmost veneration by both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Although it was Akakios who should have been the keeper and interpreter of the orthodox faith, Basiliskos performed his act of justification before God and Daniel, not before the Archbishop. In any case, the *VD* does not make any further reference to Akakios following these events. As can be seen, the author is concerned with the figure of Akakios exclusively in the context of the Archbishop's conflict with Basiliskos.

Generally speaking, it should be noted that Akakios' episcopate marked a further phase in the evolution of the relations between Daniel and the Bishops of Constantinople. Just as Gennadios had recognized Daniel's superior authority at Anaplus, so Akakios acknowledged the superiority of the holy man's authority over his own. He treated Daniel with great respect, referring to him as “holy man”; moreover, he solicited for Daniel's assistance and provided him with accommodation.

In the above-mentioned narrative, Daniel addressed the bishop only at the close of the chapter, in his exhortation to Akakios and Basiliskos. The hagiographer does not say if the holy man held Akakios in much regard, although he allied with the Archbishop during the controversy. It was in order to show his support for Akakios (but, obviously, in the defence of the faith as well!) that he descended from the col-

373 *VD* 83, 198.9: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος...

374 *VD* 83, 198.11: ...σὺν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

375 *VD* 83, 198.13–14: ...ὁ τε Βασιλίσκος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀκάκιος.

376 *VD* 83, 198.28–29: ...ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος; in versions O and V: ...ἐπίσκοπος...

377 *VD* 84, 199.18: “...ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου ἀνδρός...”

378 *VD* 84, 199.21: ...τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ...

umn and arrived at the City. He also called on the faithful to pray for the Archbishop. The author makes clear that Akakios' position in relation to Daniel was much weaker than that of his predecessors. It must be noted that Daniel would not try to retain the power he had gained during the confrontation with Basiliskos and returned to Anapulus immediately thereafter to resume "his usual practice of asceticism."³⁷⁹ In the hagiographer's view, in times of trouble and adversity the Church should turn to the holy man for counsel and assistance, but this did not mean that the hierarchic authority should be replaced by the charismatic one.

Euphemios

The last bishop featured in the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* is Euphemios,³⁸⁰ who succeeded Fravitas. Fravitas' episcopate had lasted for a total of only three months following on from Akakios' tenure. Euphemios appears four times in the VD. He is mentioned for the first time in VD 92, though he did not have any personal relation with the holy man yet. In this chapter, the hagiographer states that the Emperor Leo I had translated the relics of the three Old-Testament martyrs (Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishaël) from Babylon to Constantinople. Subsequently, they were deposited at Anapulus by Euphemios, who would surpass all the others in his veneration of Daniel.³⁸¹ There is no direct contact here between the holy man and the bishop, but it is said that Euphemios held the stylite in much reverence, as shown by the translation of the relics from Constantinople to Anapulus. In doing so, Euphemios would follow in the footsteps of the tradition of similar gestures by Leo I. At the same time, Euphemios followed Akakios in his great veneration of the holy man. There is no information, however, as to Daniel's attitude towards Euphemios.

In three other relevant sections of the text, the bishop is depicted in connection with the themes of the holy man's death and burial. The question of the stylite's attitude to Euphemios is not raised. It should be observed, nonetheless, that the hagiographical work portrays the bishop and the nature of his approaches to the figure of the holy man. VD 96 is concerned with the holy man's final moments. Great throngs

³⁷⁹ VD 85, 199.25–26: ...ἐπὶ τὸν συνήθη ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀσκήσεως...

³⁸⁰ Euphemios was Bishop of Constantinople in the years 490–496; he succeeded Fravitas (489–490), Akakios' successor. He recognized the Council of Chalcedon, restored the Pope's name to the diptychs, and severed communion with Peter Mongos. He had also wished to restore communion with Rome, yet his refusal to remove the names of Akakios and Fravitas from the diptychs made this impossible. He pressured Anastasius into subscribing to the orthodox confession of faith prior to his accession to the throne; he also summoned the synod of Constantinople which affirmed the Chalcedonian creed. Embroiled in a serious dispute with the Emperor, he was deposed in 496, in spite of the popular support he enjoyed in Constantinople. Banished to Asia Minor, he died at Ancyra in 515. Cf. LENAIN DE TILLEMONT (1732), pp. 632–663; CHARANIS (1939), pp. 10, 16, 25–27; STEIN (1949), pp. 38–39, 77, 80, 165–166; FREND (1973), pp. 193–194; KOSIŃSKI (2012b), pp. 57–79.

³⁸¹ VD 92, 207.18–20: ...ὕπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως Εὐφημίου κατεθέντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα ὑπερνήσαντος τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὅσιον τιμῇ...

of people came to Anaplus from the City and remained there until Euphemios³⁸² arrived, climbed up the column, and saw for himself whether the holy man was alive. It turned out that Daniel was still alive and the bishop had to assure the people that the holy man could not be buried before the news of his death had been communicated to everybody, and all the churches were informed. The bishop referred to the venerable “holy body”³⁸³ of Daniel. Besides, the bishop's gesture in ascending the column proved his commitment and dedication to the holy stylite.

Euphemios reappears in *VD* 99. The events described in the chapter can be dated with accuracy. This was the day after Daniel's death, i.e., Sunday, the early morning of 12 December 493. The Archbishop³⁸⁴ climbed to the top of the pillar by means of the spiral construction that had been specially erected in order to bring Daniel's body down. Afterwards, Euphemios, dignitaries, and other officials proceeded to kiss the body. The bishop³⁸⁵ also satisfied the people's wish that the holy man's body be attached to a board and held in an upright position so that those present could see it exposed like an icon.

More details can be found in *VD* 100. This section recounts that Euphemios³⁸⁶ had been afraid that Daniel's body might be torn to pieces by the crowd intent on getting hold of the holy man's relics and, for this reason, had the body safely deposited inside a coffin made of lead. It was then taken up by the bishop³⁸⁷ and some of the most prominent officials and nobles, and carried on their shoulders down the spiral structure.³⁸⁸

Euphemios is described in very positive terms throughout these events. He was the most important and highest-ranking figure present, as the Emperor and his wife did not attend the funeral. He gave orders and instructions regarding the details of the ceremony, and carried the coffin with the holy man's body on his shoulders, all in homage to Daniel.

Overall, the author portrays Euphemios most favourably wherever he appears. The bishop surpassed all others in his veneration of the holy stylite, referring to Daniel as ἀγιώτατος, ὁσιώτατος, θεοφιλέστατος. In general, he is represented as a very

382 *VD* 96, 210.4–5: ...ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆσδε τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως Εὐφῆμιος.

383 *VD* 96, 210.8: ...τὸ ἁγιονῶμα αὐτοῦ,...

384 *VD* 99, 211.23–24: ...ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Εὐφῆμιος,...

385 *VD* 99, 212.1: ...τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου...

386 *VD* 100, 212.10: ...ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Εὐφῆμιος...

387 *VD* 100, 212.14–15: ...ὁ τὰ πάντα ἀγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Εὐφῆμιος...

388 At a certain moment, the carriers faced a really hazardous situation, when the onrush of the thousands of men, women, and children, was so heavy that the planks at the entry to the chapel yielded and came apart; the men carrying the coffin with Daniel's body “were thrown to the ground,” yet, miraculously, no one sustained any injury – *VD* 100, 17–25. The people often struggled to get a hold of the relics of the deceased holy men; on many occasions, scuffles for the dying monks' bodies ensued, cf. THEODORET, *HR* XXI, 9, where some peasants are shown fighting among themselves for the body of the moribund Jacob, or THEODORET, *HR* X, 8, where intense disputes would arise over the body of Theodosius (for similar situations, see THEODORET, *HR* XV, 5; XVI, 4; XVII, 10; XXIV, 2).

devout bishop, showing solicitude for the patron of the City. Having taken care of the moribund holy man, Euphemios also took custody of the relics, as well as the entire cult-related tradition.

To sum up the subject of relations between Daniel and the bishops, the hagiographer demonstrates their gradual and consistent evolution throughout the several decades of his presence at Anapulus, as was the case for the holy man's relations with the emperors. At the beginning of the Anapulus period, Bishop Anatolios did not possess any authority over Daniel and could not force the holy man to remain with him. The extent to which Daniel possessed any authority unique or specific to himself is also unclear. A significant change would come about with Daniel's adoption of his specific form of asceticism, which marked the beginning, in the author's view, of a breakthrough in the holy man's relations with the outside world. For instance, Gennadios acknowledged that Daniel held a certain authority (which was superior to Gennadios' episcopal authority), albeit limited to the column and the area around it. The domain of his authority was rapidly enlarged during the conflict arising from Basiliskos' usurpation and extended over the territory of the capital as a whole. The incumbent Bishop of Constantinople recognized Daniel's newly acquired authority without raising any objections. The prostration of Akakios and Basiliskos at the Great Church before Daniel the Stylite represents the apex of his power. The last of the bishops, Euphemios, did not question the holy man's position, but would absorb some of his authority. Thanks to the custody over the worship and the tradition associated with Daniel, the bishop reclaimed his undisputed precedence within the Church of Constantinople. The essence of that authority is very difficult to discern, and never clearly defined by the hagiographer. It arose through Daniel's charismatic holiness and manifested itself, above all, in his rigorous asceticism, his ability to work miracles, and some vaguely defined powers of Divine provenance. The belief that the holy man was a person chosen and protected by God seems to have been the most significant aspect of this provenance. This can clearly be seen in Akakios' and the people of Constantinople's response to the news of the stylite's support for the bishop: a solitary, old, and poor hermit, hardly able to walk on his own, was of more value to the bishop than, for instance, the great numbers of monks and citizens of the capital. The belief in Daniel's power was in fact a belief in the power of God that was with him.

2.7. Daniel's Relations with the Low-Ranking Clergy and Monks

Members of the clergy, other than bishops, are hardly ever seen in personal contact with Daniel. I am not referring here to those priests who would accompany the bishops on their visits to Anapulus, as they can be considered as part of the bishop's entourage or retinue. Aside from such cases, there are three instances of the presence of clergymen in the *VD*. All these were priests of St Michael's Church at Anapulus.

These are mentioned for the first time in *VD* 17 where they object firmly to Daniel's presence at the temple and subsequently appeal to Bishop Anatolios. The hagiographer's opinion of these priests is clear. He describes them as "simple folk"³⁸⁹ and states that they had been stirred up by the demon to act against the holy man.³⁹⁰

The whole situation reoccurs in *VD* 19. The Devil induced some people, most likely the above-mentioned priests,³⁹¹ to go to the bishop with their complaint. This time, the category of the accusation is different: "Master, you have authority over us; we cannot bear that man, bid him come away from that church, for he is an impostor."³⁹² However, despite having initially told his men to use force, if necessary, to bring Daniel into the palace, the bishop decided to come to the holy man's defence. Finally, the priests from Anapulus left the palace and went back to their church.

There is more on this event in the next chapter (*VD* 20). Daniel asked the bishop to pardon the priests who had slandered him, as Anatolios had threatened to excommunicate them in response to their unjust action. The author does not say whether the bishop decided to pardon them or not, but it is stated, at the close of the chapter, that after Daniel's return to the temple, even those who had previously wanted to persecute began to serve him.³⁹³ As the reference is probably to these very priests, it can be assumed that Anatolios did forgive them their conduct.

The story of the Anapulus priests resembles a similar assessment of the conduct of a number of rural clergymen in the *Life of Hypatios*. The country priests were simple-minded and it was easy for demons to lead them astray. Resistance to the charismatic figure appearing in the area within jurisdiction of the local clergy would seem to have been a relatively frequent phenomenon. Nevertheless, the author attempts to justify the behaviour of such priests, citing their simple-mindedness and stating that the cause of their evil was Satan. Ultimately, having seen the evidence of Daniel's holiness, the priests from the Church of St Michael the Archangel began to serve him. Daniel would not condemn them, and he even interceded on their behalf before the bishop. The hagiographer's criticism of the clergy is not then particularly harsh, although he certainly did not balk at describing the local priests' unfriendly or hostile attitudes towards the holy man. By way of contrast, in the case of the bishops' opposition, the author showed rather more discretion, as seen in the account of relations between Gennadios and Daniel. According to the hagiographer, the holy man's authority ought to be recognized both locally and throughout the capital.

³⁸⁹ *VD* 17, 137.4: ...ἀπλουστέρων ἀνδρῶν...

³⁹⁰ *VD* 17, 137.1–2: ...φθονερός καὶ μισόκαλος δαίμων...

³⁹¹ *VD* 19, 139.1–2: Ἰδὼν δὲ πάλιν ὁ διάβολος τοὺς ὑπουργοὺς αὐτοῦ διωχθέντας παροξύνει πάλιν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους...

³⁹² *VD* 19, 139.3–5: "Δέσποτα, ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν ἔχεις· οὐ δυνάμεθα φέρειν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον· κέλευσον αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν ἐκεῖθεν, ἐπιθέτης γάρ ἐστιν."

³⁹³ *VD* 20, 141.13–15: Λοιπὸν καὶ οἱ πρῶτες βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν διώκειν, οὐκ ἀφίσταντο διακονοῦντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι θεραπεύοντες τὸν ὅσιον...

Subsequent chapters do not feature any direct contact between the lower-ranking clergy and Daniel. However, it is worth noting the presence of monks in several episodes.³⁹⁴ Monks are mentioned in the context of the conflict between Akakios and Basiliskos. In an attempt to seek the holy man's aid, the Bishop of Constantinople and the archimandrites³⁹⁵ assembled at the cathedral decided to send a delegation of Constantinopolitan archimandrites to Daniel: the blessed Abraham of the monastery of St Kyriakos, Eusebios, who resided near the Exakionion, Athenodoros of the monastery of Stoudios, Andrew, the exarch's vicar,³⁹⁶ and others, whose names are not mentioned.³⁹⁷ The archimandrites came to the holy man and fell prostrate in front of his pillar. Daniel was disturbed at the sight of their humility and spoke to them, referring to them as "holy fathers."³⁹⁸ They then passed on Akakios' earnest entreaty to the holy man, after which he asked them to wait patiently and pray that God might reveal what they should do. In the middle of the night, Daniel heard a voice telling him to accompany the fathers³⁹⁹ and fulfil his task. Without hesitating, the holy man took the archimandrites⁴⁰⁰ with him and they sailed to Constantinople.

The relationship of mutual respect between the archimandrites and Daniel is evident in the whole passage. The holy man calls them ἅγιοι πατέρες, while they pay homage to him by falling prostrate in front of his column. As pious ascetics, they rec-

394 I am not referring here to those who became monks at Daniel's instigation, such as Titus of Gaul. I have discussed those figures in the subsection dealing with Daniel's relations with dignitaries and Imperial officials. Sergios represents quite a different case, a monk and a disciple of St Simeon Stylites, who had come to the Emperor Leo with the late holy man's leather tunic. Unfortunately, he was not granted an audience at the court and decided to go to the monastery of the *Akoimetoι* instead. Thanks to the passengers of a boat that was saved from sinking, he heard about Daniel and then visited the church at Anapulus, where he would eventually give the tunic to the holy man. This special gift helped Daniel decide upon adopting Simeon's form of asceticism and take up his residence at the top of a column, which was erected thanks to the efforts of Sergios and the Imperial guardsman Marcus, cf. VD 22–26. Sergios can be seen again in VD 38, where the Emperor Leo addresses Daniel through him (the author refers to him as the holy man's *apokrisiarios*), asking the holy man to pray God to grant him a son. Sergios is referred to as εὐλαβέστατος.

395 VD 70, 187.21: ...ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τῶν ἀρχιμανδριτῶν,... Earlier in the chapter, it is said that all the monks of Constantinople had assembled at the cathedral to defend Akakios against Basiliskos' attack – VD 70, 187.10–12.

396 According to the information in the VD, Andrew was probably a monk. "Exarch" was the title used to refer to various representatives of high-ranking church authorities, including the Patriarch, but in the 5th century the archimandrites of the monastery of Dalmatios were also called exarchs. Cf. KAZHDAN, PAPADAKIS (1991), p. 767.

397 VD 72, 189.1–5: ...τινας τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἀρχιμανδριτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἀβραάμιος ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου Κυριακοῦ, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ πλησίον τοῦ Ἐξακιονίου, καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ τῶν Στουδίου, καὶ Ἀνδρέας δευτεράριος τοῦ ἐξάρχου, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. Version V adds: ...καὶ Δόμνος ὁ τῆς μονῆς τῶν Δίου...

398 Daniel addressed the archimandrites as follows: ...ἅγιοι πατέρες... (VD 72, 189.18–19).

399 VD 72, 190.2: ...μετὰ τῶν πατέρων...

400 VD 72, 190.8–9: ...τοὺς εὐλαβεῖς ἄνδρας...

ognize and acknowledge him as servant of God. The archimandrites' posture is an embarrassment for Daniel, as his humility meant his accepting the homage of other godly and saintly people was difficult. The hagiographer also shows great reverence for the superiors of Constantinople's monasteries, referring to them as θεοφιλεστάτοι, εὐλαβεῖς, πατέρες. This attitude may be contrasted to that of the Anaplus priests, yet it should be noted that the situation in question took place during the holy man's stylitic period and his sanctity was already widely acknowledged.

Feelings of respect are also affirmed at the beginning of *VD* 81, where Daniel returns to the cathedral following on from his intervention at the Hebdomon, greeted by the Archbishop, and all the archimandrites, priests, monks, and people.⁴⁰¹ All the ranks of the Church paid homage to the holy man who had become their true leader. This was, let us recall, the apex of Daniel's influence in the City. The author's attitude towards the archimandrites and clergymen of Constantinople therefore seems to derive from Daniel's attitude towards the hierarchy of the Church as a whole. Thus, Daniel showed them respect, yet, at the same time, demanded that they acknowledge the superior authority of the holy man.

⁴⁰¹ *VD* 81, 196.24–25: ...τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀκακίου καὶ τῶν ὁσίων [πατέρων καὶ – P] ἀρχιμανδριτῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εὐαγοῦς κλήρου καὶ τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων μοναχῶν καὶ τοῦ πιστοτάτου λαοῦ.

Part IV: **Life of Markellos Akoimetos**

1. Characteristics of the Source

This chapter makes reference exclusively to the critical edition of the *Life of Markellos* (*VM*) by Gilbert Dagron and published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.¹ The base source for Dagron's edition is the 10th-century redaction of the text, reconstructed as based on a certain number of other sources.²

1.1. Dates

It is somewhat difficult to determine the date of the work. It is safe to concur with the general assumption that the *VM* would have been written sometime between the close of the 5th century (Markellos died ca. 480³) and the mid-9th century (the earliest evidence). More accurate information can be found in the *Life of Markellos*. In *VM* 36, the hagiographer says that the protagonist lived “not a very long time ago, but in our fathers’ time.”⁴ Unfortunately, this reference is only very general, indicative of the fact that the author had not composed the work shortly after Markellos’ death, but at least several decades later. This can further be confirmed by the statement that the author did not know the protagonist in person. A certain time lapse may also be suggested by a number of other passages, such as lines from *VM* 8: “(...) because at that time it was still not forbidden for a simple deacon to become an archimandrite.”⁵ The passage refers to the succession of Alexander *Akoimetos*, who died at the turn of the 430s and 440s. Since it concerns a situation from the 440s, the impression of a considerable time lapse between the author’s time of writing (at the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries) and the events described would be justified. However, the sentence in question cannot be connected to some particular council canon or Imperial constitution with any certainty.⁶

Conversely, the *VM* provides several fairly accurate pieces of information, such as the fire in Constantinople (465), with some very precise topographical indications

1 “La vie ancienne de saint Marcel l’Acémetes,” éd. et introd. par G. DAGRON, *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1968), pp. 271 – 321. The Metaphrastic version of the *Vita* published in PG 116, cols. 705 – 745.

2 For more details on the extant manuscripts of the *VM* and their use in the critical edition in question, see the introduction to DAGRON (1968), pp. 280 – 285.

3 Cf. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 19 – 20, where a hegumen of the *Akoimetoï* named Cyril is mentioned (in 484). The relevant passages deal with Akakios (to whom Cyril refers in his letter to Pope Felix).

4 *VM* 36, p. 320: ...ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς οὐ πολὺ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν...

5 *VM* 8, p. 293: Καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον ἔτι τὸν χρόνον οὐκ ἐκωλύετό τις καὶ διακόνου βαθμὸν ἔχων χειροτονεῖσθαι ἀρχιμανδρίτης... This passage refers to the hegumen John. He was Alexander *Akoimetos*’ direct successor (Alexander died ca. 440).

6 Cf. DAGRON (1968), p. 278. The only law with which this particular mention may be possibly associated is Justinian’s Novel 123, 34.

as to where the conflagration started and spread (*VM* 31),⁷ as also of the famine at the capital, citing the causes such as the crop failure in Egypt and Barbarian raids in Thrace (*VM* 26).⁸ The appearance of a short time-span between the creation of the work and the events depicted therein is also increased by the statement that the monastery of Irenaion had not changed since its enlargement under Markellos up until the hagiographer's time (*VM* 12). Unfortunately, little is known about the history of Irenaion after Markellos' tenure as hegumen.⁹ Another argument for a shorter time lapse may be the fact that Julian, Bishop of Ephesus,¹⁰ is referred to as *Akoimetos*.

The absence of any more specific pointers led Gilbert Dagron to the hypothesis that the *VM* was composed in the mid-6th century.¹¹ This conclusion was based primarily on the fact of the hagiographer's silence over the holy man's role in the Monophysite controversy of the mid-5th century. In that period, as we know, Markellos became one of the foremost opponents of Eutyches following the "Robber" Council and continued to exchange correspondence with Pope Leo I and Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹² These events, of particular significance in Markellos' biography, are completely ignored in the *VM*, whereas the author devotes much attention to events that occurred in ca. 470, when Markellos and Bishop Gennadios took a stand against Patrikios (an Arian) at the Hippodrome.¹³ Dagron suggests that this curious silence on the Monophysite controversy alongside the author's emphasis on concerted action taken by the holy man and Bishop Gennadios against Aspar's son, makes it possible to date the work to the mid-6th century. At the time, the *Akoimeto*i, very influential and staunch opponents of the Neo-Chalcedonian party and the Theopaschite doctrine, were accused of following Nestorianism,¹⁴ while the Emperor Justinian sup-

7 The topographical information found in the *Life of Markellos* is confirmed in Zonaras, cf. JOHN ZONARAS, *Epitome Historiarum*, vol. III, p.124.

8 The reference to Egypt precludes a period after the Arab Conquest, whereas Thrace had been cut off by the Barbarians in the mid-6th century and, temporarily, also at the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries. On the situation in the Balkan Peninsula in the 6th century, cf. WHITBY (2000), pp. 714–730.

9 The monastery of Irenaion was located on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus (present-day Çubuklu), cf. PARGOIRE (1898–1899a), pp. 304–308, 365–372 and JANIN (1964), pp. 486–487.

10 Cf. *VM* 15, pp. 299–300. See also DAGRON (1968), p. 278. Julian is an otherwise unknown figure, cf. PCBE, 3, pp. 545–546.

11 See DAGRON (1968), pp. 278–279. This hypothesis is also assumed by BAGUENARD (1988), pp. 124–125, who restates Dagron's principal points.

12 Cf. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Ep.* 141 and 142, as well as MANSI, vol. VII, cols. 61, 76.

13 *VM* 34, pp. 316–318.

14 On 25 March 534, at Justinian's request, Pope John II condemned the Sleepless Monks, see *CII* 1, 6–8; MANSI, vol. VIII, cols. 795–799; 803–806; *ACO*, IV, II, p. 210: "*Aquimatos vero, qui se monachos dicunt, qui Nestoriani evidenter apparuerunt, Romana etiam eos damnat ecclesia...*" At that time, the *Akoimeto*i opposed the Theopaschite formula of the Scythian monks and probably took a very negative stand on the Emperor Justinian's adoption of the Theopaschite formula as orthodox in March 533. The formula was also approved by Pope John II. On the Scythian monks and the Theopaschite controversy, see SALAMON (1984), pp. 325–338; MOELLER (1951), pp. 676–687; GRAY (1979), pp. 48–58; BACHT (1953), p. 299.

ported the Neo-Chalcedonian movement.¹⁵ In that particular period, too much emphasis on Markellos' anti-Monophysite activities would have confirmed suspicions harboured by the opponents of the *Akoimetoï*, and would have been politically misplaced.¹⁶ Dagron states further reasons in support of his hypothesis: the language of the *VM* is vivid and the author is very much concerned with the protagonist's life. Consequently, the work cannot be compared with the later Metaphrastic style of hagiographic literature. Similarly, the hagiographer does not use many anachronistic expressions in his representation of political events, of 5th-century monastic life, and in his use of geographical and topographical details.

Recently, the dating proposed by Gilbert Dagron has been questioned by Vincent Déroche and Bénédicte Lesieur.¹⁷ They have noted that any overt reference to Markellos' role in the anti-Eutychian struggle would not have been welcome during the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, especially following the promulgation of the *Henotikon* by the former emperor. In their opinion, the composition of the *VM* in the years 482–518 would better account for the silence over the Council of Chalcedon, whose decrees had constituted the foundation of Justinian's religious policy. This proposed dating would also agree with the chronology of the work and would not contradict the author's statement that Markellos had lived "in our fathers' time," as he had died between 476 and 484.

I think that the French scholars' hypothesis is plausible, though it should be taken into account that, contrary to the widely assumed view, no anti-Chalcedonian policy had been pursued during Zeno's reign, as the Emperor generally tended to give his support to the Chalcedonian movement.¹⁸ Also, the early years of Anastasius' reign were not marked by any change from the previous religious policy, as the ruler avoided interfering in dogmatic issues.¹⁹ It was only during the final decade of his reign, and due to the influence exerted on the Emperor by Severos of Sozopolis, that he began to overtly oppose the doctrines of Chalcedon. Besides, the passage

¹⁵ On Justinian's religious policy, cf. FRENCH (1973), pp. 245–320; GRAY (1979), pp. 53–79; BECK (1980b), pp. 15–32 and Av. CAMERON (2000), pp. 79–82.

¹⁶ The Sleepless Monks were known for their definitely anti-Monophysite attitude and strong links to papal authority. This can be seen in Markellos' stance at the time of the Eutychian controversy as well as in the later attitude of hegumen Cyril, who had looked to the Pope for support in confronting Akakios' pro-Monophysite turn in the years 483–484. One of the *Akoimetoï* had even reportedly pinned to Akakios' *pallium* (during Holy Mass) the sentence of the Roman synod of 484, which had deposed the Bishop of Constantinople. Cf. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 18, LIBERATUS, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* 18; although Theodore Anagnostes ascribes the act to the monks of the monastery of Dios, cf. THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, *Epitome* 433–434. The Sleepless Monks maintained their attitude up until Justinian's reign, cf. FRENCH (1973), pp. 182–183; GRAY (1979), p. 75. In the same vein, during the political turmoil of the 9th century, the monastery of Stoudios, condemned by Patriarch Methodios, would seek an alliance with Rome, cf. KAZHDAN, TALBOT, CUTLER (1991), p. 1960.

¹⁷ DÉROCHE, LESIEUR (2010), pp. 290–291.

¹⁸ Cf. KOSIŃSKI (2010a).

¹⁹ Cf. CHARANIS (1939), p. 27.

to the effect that Markellos lived “in our fathers’ time” would be more in tune with a date of the composition towards the close of Anastasius’ reign, about thirty years after the protagonist’s death, rather than in the mid-480s.

Déroche-Lesieur’s hypothesis may be amended as it can be assumed that the *VM* had been written during the last decade of Anastasius’ reign, perhaps following the year 511, when the Emperor deposed the pro-Chalcedonian Patriarch Makedonios of Constantinople and summoned a synod at Sydon to carry through the depositions of the Bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem, both of whom had given their support to the decrees of Chalcedon.²⁰ For my part, I have adopted this latter dating of the composition of the *VM*, i.e., the years 511–518, as this seems to fit essential features of the source.

1.2. The Author and the Purpose of the Work

There is very little information concerning the author of the *VM*. His name remains unknown. It is known that he was not an eye-witness to the events recounted in the *VM*. Nevertheless, the notes recorded in the final chapters of the work indicate that he had been a member of the *Akoimetoï* in Constantinople. Likewise, the *VM* is clearly addressed to that particular monastic community. In these chapters, the monks are encouraged to glorify God and urged to celebrate the holy man’s saint-day through prayer.²¹ The latter section of the text suggests that the *VM* was composed for the community on the occasion of the commemoration of the holy man.²² Generally speaking, apart from the fact that it is dedicated to the life and works of Markellos, the *VM* provides much detail on the life of the monastic community. During his time with the Sleepless Monks, Markellos would rarely leave the monastery (*VM* 36). On the other hand, the author’s preface with its references to the *Iliad* suggests that the work was also addressed to better-educated readers outside the monastery. Therefore, the objective of the composition may have been to propagate Markellos’ glory and renown among wider circles of Byzantine society. The hagiographer must have had access to a number of sources dealing with the situation in Constantinople in the latter half of the 5th century, especially during the reign of Leo I.

Assuming the correctness of the hypothesis that the *VM* was composed during the period of Emperor Anastasius’ active anti-Chalcedonian policy, the hagiographer may have aimed to create an apologetic work, demonstrating the orthodoxy of the holy hegumen of the monastery and of the community itself, without any explicit reference to the protagonist’s anti-Monophysite activity. For this reason, the work relates events such as a dogmatic dispute between Markellos and the Bishop of Chal-

²⁰ Cf. GRILLMEIER (1987), pp. 279–281; HAARER (2006), pp. 139–162; MEIER (2009), pp. 250–319.

²¹ *VM* 36–37, pp. 319–321.

²² This commemoration took place on 29 December.

cedon,²³ the concerted action of Markellos and Bishop Gennadios against Patrikios,²⁴ and the arrival of bishops at the monastery of the *Akoimetoι* with the intent of obtaining alms.²⁵

It is difficult to determine where the author of the *Life of Markellos* came from. He has a good opinion of the Apamea region, the place of Markellos' origin.²⁶ The same region, or Ephesus, was also the homeland of Jacob, a close associate of Alexander *Akoimetos*.²⁷ Chapter 8 features an unnamed Macedonian, a very pious man and prophet, who foretold that Markellos would become an archimandrite of the Sleepless Monks. The hagiographer also has a very favourable opinion of Constantinople, which he sees as the birthplace of the *Akoimetoι* movement.²⁸ The *VM* also mentions the regions of the Euphrates (*VM* 22) and Edessa (*VM* 23), the city of Pompeiopolis in Pontus (*VM* 24; the location of monasteries maintaining contact with Markellos), Ancyra (*VM* 25, where the monks sent eastwards by Markellos chose to settle), Persia, and Illyricum (*VM* 29; Markellos received martyrs' relics from here), Egypt, and Thrace (*VM* 26).²⁹ All of these regions are mentioned by way of reference and the author does not express any personal view of them. In fact, the warm words for the region of Apamea may have only reflected the fact that this was Markellos' homeland, whereas his positive view of Constantinople is similar to those in the *vitae* of other monks from the capital region.³⁰

The anonymous author of the *VM* received some classical education. This is clearly evident in the preface, where the hagiographer makes reference to the events of the *Iliad*.³¹ It is further confirmed by a passage in *VM* 2, where he says that Markellos had received a good secular education in Antioch; that he was diligent in his studies not because of any misplaced interest, but to have them at his disposal and exercise his mind so that he could seek out true knowledge.³² This is apparently said as part of a cautious defence of a classical education that could be utilized for the cause of the good. The author goes on to describe Markellos' profession at Ephesus

²³ *VM* 27, p. 310.

²⁴ *VM* 34, pp. 316–318.

²⁵ *VM* 15, pp. 299–300 and 23, pp. 305–306.

²⁶ *VM* 2, p. 288: ...χώρα φύσιν ἔχουσα γενναίους φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῦς...

²⁷ *VM* 4–5, p. 290: Ἰάκωβος δὲ τις, συνήθης πρότερον τῷ ὁσίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ γεγονώς...

²⁸ *VM* 13, pp. 297–298: Ἐλαβεν δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως· ἐκείνη γὰρ ὡς πάντων πλέον γειτνιώσα, πάντων πρώτη ἐξήλωσεν, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῇ εὐσέβειαν τιμῶντες ἢ κατεσκευάσαντο οἴκους εὐκτηρίους ἢ συνεστήσαντο ἀνδρῶν εὐλαβῶν ἀσκητήρια, παρὰ Μαρκέλλου ἐλάβανον καὶ τῆς ποιμνῆς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης φύλακας.

²⁹ This chapter recounts that Egypt had been afflicted by crop failure and famine in consequence of a delayed inundation of the Nile, whereas Thrace was cut off from Constantinople by the Barbarians.

³⁰ For instance, Constantinople is called “the Second Jerusalem” in the *Life of Daniel*, cf. *VD* 10.

³¹ *VM* 1. The author makes reference to the text of the *Iliad*: Book II, 673 and Book XXIII, 13 and 301.

³² *VM* 2, p. 288: Ἐκράτει δὲ παρ’ αὐτῷ τὴν ἔξωθεν παιδείαν οὐχ οὕτως ἐσπουδάσθαι ὡς μέχρις αὐτῆς ἐστάναι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν ἔχειν ἐφόδιον καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ παλαιόστραν καὶ ὀξύτητος μελέτην πρὸς τὴν ὄντως τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν.

(i.e., copying books) in very positive terms³³ and makes a number of references to the holy man's education in the further sections of the *vita*.³⁴ The hagiographer's education and his final exhortations addressed to his fellow monks imply that he carried out an important function at the monastery.³⁵

1.3. Originality and Borrowings; Structure

As already noted, the *VM* is very different from later hagiographical literature, which was marked by a very peculiar, specific style. It is noteworthy that the author quotes two excerpts from the *Iliad* (Books II and XXIII) in the preface. Apart from these two fragments, the hagiographer makes reference only to the Scriptures (these being, quite naturally, his primary point of reference).

The structure is fairly clear and divides the work into two cohesive parts: *narratio hagiographica*, recounting the story of Markellos' spiritual calling and formation (Ch. 2–14) and *argumentatio hagiographica*, comprising accounts of the holy man's miracles (Ch. 15–23, 25–28) and virtues (Ch. 24, 29–31). The subsequent chapters contain an account of events linked to Aspar's family (Ch. 32–35), a summary of the holy man's virtues, and information relating to his death (Ch. 36–37).

It is worth taking note of the final passage from *VM* 22, which depicts an encounter between Ephraim and Basil the Great.³⁶ This is unrelated to the earlier text in the chapter; although it concludes with an invocation to the God of Basil, Ephraim, Sergios, and Markellos, it seems to be an interpolation.³⁷

1.4. Biographical Data in the *Narratio Hagiographica*

Markellos was a native of Apamea in Syria II.³⁸ He was descended from a wealthy noble family.³⁹ His father died when Markellos was still in his youth. It is known

³³ *VM* 3, pp. 289–290.

³⁴ Cf., e.g., *VM* 8, p. 293, where Markellos surpasses hegumen John in education and intellectual acuity.

³⁵ One of the 6th-century hegumens of the *Akoimetoι* may have been the author of the *VM*, though there is no evidence for this whatsoever.

³⁶ *VM* 22, p. 305.

³⁷ *VM* 22, p. 305: 'Ο Θεός μὲν οὖν Βασιλείου καὶ Εφραίμ καὶ Σεργίου καὶ Μαρκέλλου διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν προσευχῆς γένοιτο ἰλεως τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν· ἀμήν. Since the excerpt in question cannot be found in Simeon Metaphrastes' version, it was most likely not included in the model text which he had used. However, this cannot be determined with certainty. Consequently, it cannot be said if this is an inadequate digression by the hagiographer or a later interpolation, cf. DAGRON (1968), p. 282.

³⁸ *VM* 2, s. 288: ...ἐκ τῆς Ἀπαμέων· ἐῷα δέ ἐστιν πόλις, χώρα φύσιν ἔχουσα γενναίους φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῦς. Apamea (present-day Qal'at al-Mudīq in Syria) was situated on the Orontes. The city was the capital and the chief bishopric of Syria II. In his warm reference to the holy men who came from Apa-

that he had at least one brother. The latter died during the period of the holy man's tenure as hegumen of the monastery of the *Akoimetoï*.⁴⁰ Markellos was sent to Antioch, where he received his classical education (VM 2).⁴¹ Following the words of Genesis,⁴² he set out in search of a teacher who would introduce him to the wisdom of the Scriptures. He reached Ephesus (VM 3), where he lived with a Christian family and came under the influence of Promotos, a servant of that family, who would become instrumental in Markellos' initial ascetic formation. During his time at Ephesus, the holy man earned a living as a calligrapher.⁴³ Copying texts was a very important part of the Sleepless Monks' mode of existence. For instance, during Markellos' tenure as hegumen, or shortly after his death, the monks copied a collection of 2,000 epistles of Isidore of Pelusium, an ascetic and writer living at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries (as noted by Facundus in his *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*, edited ca. 550).⁴⁴ These letters were translated by the Roman deacon Rusticus, who stated he had used the *Akoimetoï* collection of Isidore's letters.⁴⁵

Markellos' Syrian roots were not unusual among Constantinople's monastic communities of the period. As noted before, Alexander *Akoimetos* had arrived at the capital from the territory of Syria. Likewise, Syrian influence was present at Hy-

mea, the author may have been referring to St Markellos, bishop of the city and martyr (d. 389). It is possible that Markellos *Akoimetos* was named in honour of the bishop. On Apamea, see C. MANGO, CUTLER (1991), p. 127.

39 VM 2, p. 288: Ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν δὲ γεγονῶς...

40 VM 30. According to this passage, Markellos did not accept the inheritance that was left to him after the death of his brother (whose name is not mentioned in the source) either for himself or for his monastery. He gave it away to poor monasteries and people in need.

41 VM 2, p. 288: Ἐφοίτησεν μὲν γὰρ εἰς διδάσκαλον κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ μεγαλοπόλει, καὶ ἀρκούντως τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπληρώθη παιδείας.

42 VM 2, p. 289: "Leave your country (...) for a country which I shall show you" (Genesis 12:1).

43 VM 3, p. 289: Ἀσκήσας γὰρ γράφειν εἰς κάλλος,... Markellos only retained a part of his earnings in order to buy necessities; he gave the rest of the money to the poor; cf. VM 3, p. 289.

44 Cf. FACUNDUS OF HERMIANE, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*, II, IV, 12–17. On the authenticity of the letters and the Sleepless Monks' role in the preservation thereof, cf. EVIEUX (1976), pp. 321–340. Copying manuscripts was a characteristic feature of the *Akoimetoï* monastery; it also housed a library with a great number of volumes, cf. DAGRON (1968), p. 274. According to Utto (Rudolf) Riedinger's hypothesis, the works of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagites (Riedinger identifies him with Peter the Fuller) and Pseudo-Caesarius were composed at the monasteries of the *Akoimetoï*. The scholar also theorized that the Greek version of Pseudo-Makarios' *Homilies* was composed at their monasteries, cf. RIEDINGER (1959), pp. 276–296; RIEDINGER (1978), pp. 148–153 and RIEDINGER (1969), pp. 258–262, 455–457. On Peter the Fuller's connections with the Sleepless Monks' monastery, cf. also PARGOIRE (1899), p. 142 and GRAY (1979), pp. 23–26.

45 Cf. RUSTICUS, *Synodicon*, p. 25. Following his expulsion in 565, Rusticus found refuge with the *Akoimetoï*. In Marin's view, the synodal documents that Rusticus consulted at the monastery of the *Akoimetoï* prove the existence of the first monastic library in the Byzantine Empire, dating back to the 5th century; see MARIN (1897), pp. 401–402.

patios' monastery.⁴⁶ Syrian monks (such as Isaac⁴⁷) also participated in the formative stage of Constantinopolitan orthodox monasticism.

Having heard of Alexander *Akoimetos*' presence in Constantinople, Markellos went to Alexander's monastery, at that time located near the shrine of St Menas (VM 4). This was a period of growing influence for Alexander's monastic community, which was joined, as the hagiographer says, by a great number of monks from Bithynia, the neighbouring provinces, and Constantinople.⁴⁸ It was in Alexander's community, relocated to Gomon,⁴⁹ where Markellos made quick progress on his path of asceticism (VM 6).

Not very long before Alexander's death, Markellos left the monastery to avoid being elected his successor, thus enabling the election of John, one of Alexander's associates, as hegumen (VM 6). Some people claimed, however, that he had left to avoid being humiliated by John's election.⁵⁰ At any rate, his brief absence (cf. VM 6) points to the conflict that would have arisen at the monastery towards the close of Alexander's life and immediately after his death. Two distinct parties formed among the monks: one supporting John, the other – Markellos. During the holy man's absence from the monastery, a certain anonymous Macedonian, the superior of a community at a place known as Φιάλου λιμὴν,⁵¹ foretold to Markellos that he would be elected hegumen of the *Akoimetoι* (VM 8). Upon this prophecy, Markellos decided to return to the monastery. The holy man became a deacon on the same day that John was ordained a presbyter (VM 8).

Markellos' departure from Alexander's monastery and his wandering from one monastic centre to another is typical of the early phase of the growth of Constantinopolitan monasticism.⁵² His spiritual mentor, Alexander, had spent most of his life as a wandering ascetic. Hypatios was known to have wandered on several occasions.⁵³ On the other hand, Dalmatios, a rather unusual case for the first half of the 5th century, left his monastery due to the nature of the religious situation at the capital during the Nestorian controversy.⁵⁴ During Markellos' tenure as hegumen, some of his monks were dispatched on missions and errands. For instance, a monk named

⁴⁶ Cf. BARTELINK (1968), pp. 128–136.

⁴⁷ See PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita s. Iohannis Chrysostomi* 6.

⁴⁸ VM 4–5, p. 290: ...καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐχομένων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ αὐτῆς δὲ μάλιστα τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,...

⁴⁹ VM 4–5, p. 290: ...ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου μοναστήριον ἰδρύσας...

⁵⁰ VM 9, p. 294: ...ὑπεξέειπεν ἑαυτὸν ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ ἀποτυχάνων ὑβρίζεσθαι.

⁵¹ VM 8, p. 293. Janin identifies this location (ἡ Φιάλη) at Körfeş, Turkey, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, see JANIN (1964), pp. 488–489.

⁵² Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 255–257.

⁵³ Cf. VH 9–10, where Hypatios left the *Rouphinianai* after his dispute with Timothy; VH 33, where Hypatios arrived at Chalcedon in order to take action against the initiative to reinstate the Olympic games in the city; at VH 45–46, Hypatios wandered across Bithynia.

⁵⁴ Cf. NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclidis* II, 1. On the holy men's wanderings, see MALAMUT (1993).

Thalassios was said to have visited a monastery in Pontus,⁵⁵ whereas some other *Akoimetoι* were reported to have sailed to Pontus.⁵⁶

The existence of the two parties at the monastery following John's election is attested at *VM* 8–10. The hagiographer refers to the conflict among the Sleepless Monks as “a battle between truth and deceit.”⁵⁷ It appears that prior to John's death his followers gained the upper hand and unity was eventually restored to the monastery. Markellos was humiliated by John, who told Markellos to take care of a donkey (*VM* 10). However, soon thereafter, following on from John's death, the reconciled and re-united community elected Markellos as their hegumen (*VM* 11).⁵⁸

During John's tenure, the Sleepless Monks moved to the Irenaion, later called “the place of the *Akoimetoι*”,⁵⁹ invited there by an unidentified man,⁶⁰ who had donated some land for the community to build a small chapel and several dwelling places for the monks (*VM* 7).

After Markellos' election as hegumen, the community continued to develop and more monks joined the monastery, until their modest conditions no longer sufficed as accommodation. The very limited financial resources did not allow the monks to erect new buildings (*VM* 12); this only became possible when Pharetrios, a senator's son,⁶¹ joined the *Akoimetoι* and provided the necessary funds to build a new spacious chapel, cells for the monks, a hostel for pilgrims and visitors, and an infirmary for the sick. In a further chapter, the hagiographer reports that the monastery had its own granary and bakery (*VM* 26).

The Sleepless Monks' rule and liturgy continued to spread to other monastic centres, while Markellos dispatched his monks to become superiors in other communities and custodians of the holy shrines.⁶² This period also marked a notable growth

55 *VM* 24, p. 306: Πρὸς τοῦτον ἦλθον ἄλλοι τέ τινες μοναχοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μαρκέλλου ποίμνης Θαλάσσιος, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα γέγονεν πρεσβύτερος.

56 *VM* 25, p. 307: Ἀπέστειλén ποτε ἀδελφούς εἰς Πόντον ὁ Μάρκελλος.

57 *VM* 9, p. 294: Μεταξὺ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα κάκεῖνα λεγόντων ἄμιλλα ἦν ψεύδους καὶ ἀληθείας...

58 Cf. *VH* 9–10, with an account of the conflict between Hypatios and his fellow monks at the *Rouphinianai*.

59 *VM* 7, p. 292: ...“ὁ τῶν Ἀκοιμήτων”, τότε δὲ “Εἰρηναῖον” ἐκαλεῖτο,... It was located in Bithynia, across from Sosthenion, along the middle stretch of the Bosphorus (present-day Çubuklu, Turkey), cf. PARGOIRE (1898–1899a), p. 304; JANIN (1953), p. 20.

60 The Migne edition of the *VM* mistakes the adjective φιλόθεος for the name of that man, who remains, in fact, anonymous. The founder of the Irenaion monastery is named by, e.g., PARGOIRE (1898–1899a), p. 304.

61 *VM* 12, p. 296: Ἦν τις Φαρέτριος, υἱὸς ἀνδρὸς μέγιστον δυνηθέντος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτῳ... Pharetrios is an otherwise unknown figure.

62 This information can be confirmed by Stoudios' foundation of a monastery in Constantinople (463). Stoudios asked Markellos to provide monks and the monastic rule for his foundation, cf. THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, *Epitome* 384; THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 5955; NIKEPHOROS KALLISTOS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG 147, col. 68; DAGRON (1968), pp. 273–274. Cyril Mango states that the

in the holy man's position (*VM* 13), as attested by multiple relations with other monastic communities, such as a monastery near the Euphrates, whose hegumen was Sergios,⁶³ a monastery in the vicinity of Edessa, led by Elissaios,⁶⁴ a monastic community at Pompeiopolis in Pontus, whose hegumen was Gaudiolos.⁶⁵ Markellos sent his monks to Pontus and other regions in the East (they were present at Ancyra⁶⁶), and he also received relics from Persia and Illyricum.⁶⁷ The relics of at least one saint can be identified – Ursicinus of Illyricum.⁶⁸ It can be seen then that the *Akoimetoi* maintained relations primarily with the Eastern provinces of the Empire: territories along the Persian frontier, Syria, Osrhoene, Asia Minor. On the contrary, there is no evidence for such relations with the provinces where the monastic movement had already been well-developed (Palestine, Egypt). The same can be applied to the European shore of the Bosphorus or Thrace. Curiously, however, the author mentions Illyricum among the regions with which Markellos had established and maintained relations.⁶⁹ This may have been due to the Sleepless Monks' traditionally good relations with the Bishops of Rome, yet also points to an important trait in Markellos' religious formation, namely his love of holy relics. He would seek them out even in very distant regions, such as Persia and Illyricum. This characteristic is confirmed in the Palestinian *comes* Dorotheos' letter (452) addressed to Markellos, to which the *comes* appended a venerable relic: pieces of Christ's robe.⁷⁰ The letter in question includes Palestine within the scope of Markellos' relations, even though the hagiographer did not take note of this particular direction; nor does he mention, as previously noted, the holy man's correspondence with Pope Leo.

The *VM* also recounts Markellos' involvement in action against Aspar and his sons (*VM* 32–34). The relevant sections will be discussed in more detail further on. At this point it is worth noting that Markellos helped out and gave shelter to a

monastery had been founded prior to 454, whilst according to archaeological finds, even as early as 450, cf. PESCHLOW (1982), pp. 429–434 and THOMAS, HERO (2000), p. 67.

⁶³ *VM* 22, p. 304: ...Σέργιος, μοναστηρίου παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἡγούμενος.

⁶⁴ *VM* 23, pp. 305–306: Ἦν τις Ἐλισσαῖος ἡγούμενος μοναστηρίου κειμένου πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν.

⁶⁵ *VM* 24, p. 306: Πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καλουμένη Πομπηίουπολις. Ἐν ταύτῃ ἦν τις ἡγούμενος μοναστηρίου ὀνόματι Γαυδίολος,...

⁶⁶ *VM* 25, p. 308: ...ἐν Ἀνκύρᾳ,...

⁶⁷ *VM* 29, p. 312: ...καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Περσῶν καὶ Ἰλλυρίων χώρας...

⁶⁸ *VM* 29, p. 313: ...τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Οὐρσικίνου. Ursicinus was a martyr who died during Maximian's reign.

⁶⁹ Another Macedonian was the anonymous monk who had foretold to Markellos he would become hegumen of the *Akoimetoi*, cf. *VM* 8.

⁷⁰ Cf. VAN ESBROECK (1986), pp. 148–149. Most probably, the letter in question was written in Syriac, but it has only survived as an Arabic version in two manuscripts. Dorotheos served as *comes* (*et dux Palaestinae*) in the years 452–453. He campaigned against the Saracens in Moab and was summoned to come to Jerusalem upon the outbreak of religious unrest instigated by the followers of the Monophysite monk Theodosius. After the initial recognition of Theodosius as Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Emperor Marcian ordered Dorotheos to depose and arrest him in 453, cf. PLRE, pp. 377–378.

man named John, who was persecuted by Ardabur, Aspar's son. This act resulted in open conflict between the holy man and Ardabur, as the latter dispatched his troops to the Irenaion to force the hegumen into submission. In 470 or 471, along with Archbishop Gennadios, he led a demonstration of the orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople against the other son of Aspar, Patrikios, who had been elevated to *Caesar* by the Emperor Leo I. In consequence of this action, Patrikios renounced his Arian faith and converted to orthodox Christianity.

Markellos died at the Irenaion on the eve of the Epiphany (VM 35). The author states that the holy man had worked miracles for over sixty years as an ascetic.⁷¹ As with the period before Alexander's death, so too near the end of Markellos' life, internal conflicts seem to have arisen within the community, most probably related to the question of succession. Until the end, the holy man continued to make efforts to settle all contentious issues amicably and establish peaceful relations within his monastic community (VM 37).

2. Analysis

2.1. Markellos *Akoimetos* and Secular Authority

The *Life of Markellos* contains fewer instances of relations between the protagonist and the authorities than *vitae* such as *VH* and *VD*. As a matter of fact, Markellos' relations with the secular authority can be divided into those concerning the members of Aspar's family, including their conflict with Leo I (VM 32–34), and other issues (VM 11–12, 35–36).

2.1.1. Markellos vs. Aspar and His Sons

The theme of VM 32–34 is Aspar's family, especially his sons Ardabur and Patrikios. The hagiographer relates that Ardabur⁷² and Aspar⁷³ had attained such a powerful

⁷¹ VM 36, p. 319: ...ὅπερ ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν ἡσκησέν...

⁷² VM 32, p. 314: ..Ἀρδαβούριος... Ardabur the Younger was a son of Fl. Ardabur Aspar. He held the praetor's office in 434, and was consul in 447. In the early years of Marcian's reign, he served as *comes rei militaris* or *magister utriusque militiae (vacans)*. In 453–466, he held the prominent office of *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*. He received that rank as a reward for his victories in Thrace. In 453, he defeated the Saracens near Damascus and then began peace negotiations with them. After Simeon Stylites' death in 459, he dispatched a group of Gothic soldiers to guard his body against relics-hunters. He was most probably recalled from his post in 466 by Leo I, yet continued to be a very influential figure in Constantinople. He was murdered along with his father on Leo I's orders in 471; cf. PLRE, pp. 135–137 and SCHARF (1993), pp. 213–223.

⁷³ VM 32, p. 314: ...ἄμα Ἀσπαρι τῷ πατρὶ... Fl. Ardabur Aspar, of Alan descent, was Fl. Ardabur's son. He had three sons (Ardabur the Younger, Patrikios, and Herminerikos) and two daughters. In 431

position in the Empire that they began to act against the will of Leo I, and neither the Emperor nor anybody else dared oppose them.

Ardabur once got angry at a man named John. John could not rely on the Emperor or anybody else for protection and took refuge at Markellos' monastery. As soon as Ardabur found this out, he sent an order to the holy man, demanding that the fugitive be surrendered. Markellos did not follow Ardabur's order, and he, in turn, responded with threats. This also brought no results, and the commander dispatched a detachment of soldiers to persuade Markellos to release John; if necessary, they were to use force and treat the property of the monastery as loot. The soldiers surrounded the monastery and asked the holy man to surrender John. In response, Markellos said prayers with his monks and sent supplies to the soldiers. Some soldiers agreed to take the food, while the others sent it back. The situation continued until evening, when many of those who were present with Markellos entreated him to surrender John. They were apprehensive about the possible risk to everybody within the precincts of the monastery. The besiegers remained at their positions all night, all to no avail, and decided to use force at dawn. It was then that they saw a miraculous sign appearing in the sky,⁷⁴ making them beg Christ for forgiveness. As a result, they ended their action and retreated.

The next chapter (*VM* 33) recounts the holy man's night vision. Markellos saw a lion fighting a great dragon, and the lion's tail had been caught by the dragon. The lion was in pain and circled around his adversary, unable to reach him while receiving the dragon's blows. The desperate lion calmed himself and lay down, then taking a deep breath, and, as though awakening from sleep, leapt at the dragon and devoured him. The vision is explicated a little further on, at the close of *VM* 34.

At the very beginning of *VM* 34, it is said that the Emperor Leo's relations with Aspar and Ardabur had been marked by many conflicts. The hagiographer notes that both parties had done much harm.⁷⁵ In view of the destructive effects of this pro-

(or before that date), he was appointed *comes* and *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*; in all probability, he retained the latter rank until his death in 471. He also held the rank of *magister militum praesentalis* during the reign of Leo I. In 434, he was consul (in the West). He negotiated a truce for the year 442 with Attila; afterwards, he led successful campaigns against the Huns. In 457, he was instrumental in Leo's accession to the throne. According to Zuckerman's supposition, Aspar had also been behind Marcian's elevation to emperor. During the fire of Constantinople (465), he joined the effort to stop the conflagration and urged the populace to follow his example. In 466, he did not take any action to prevent his son Ardabur's loss of the office of *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*. In the subsequent period, he came into conflict with the Emperor Leo; his suspected involvement in a conspiracy against the ruler ultimately led to the murder of Aspar and his sons on the Emperor's orders in 471. He professed the Arian faith. Cf. VERNADSKY (1941), pp. 38–73; STEIN (1959), pp. 353–361; ZUCKERMAN (1994), pp. 169–176; SCOTT (1991), pp. 59–69; GREGORY, CUTLER (1991b), pp. 210–211; URBANIEC (2012), pp. 173–201; and PLRE, pp. 164–169.

⁷⁴ *VM* 32, p. 315: The sign in question was a wreath of fire with a cross inside that appeared above the rooftop of the monastery, encircling and defending it against the soldiers.

⁷⁵ *VM* 34, p. 316: Γέγονεν δὲ πολλὰ ἐν μέσῳ Λέοντος καὶ Ἀσπαρος καὶ Ἀρδαβουρίου δηλοῦντα δυσμένειαν, πολλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πραχθέντων χαλεπῶν, κινδύνων τε ὄντων ἢ ἀμώτερα τὰ μέρη ὑπὲρ ἀλλή-

longed conflict, the two sides reached a settlement which was to be guaranteed through a marriage between Leo's daughter⁷⁶ and Aspar's son, Patrikios.⁷⁷ Prior to the marriage, Patrikios was to have been elevated to *Caesar*. As he was expected to become emperor after Leo's death, the Church regarded the deal as outrageous on account of Patrikios' Arian faith.

The faithful assembled at the Great Church⁷⁸ and then headed to the Hippodrome, led by Bishop Gennadios and Markellos (the situation resulted in the holy man coming to the capital).⁷⁹ The Patriarch of Constantinople was accompanied by a great number of clergymen, while Markellos also led a multitude of monks to the capital. The people gathered *en masse* wanted the Emperor Leo's support for their demands.⁸⁰ For many hours shouts of *Kyrie eleison* could be heard and the people prayed for Patrikios' conversion to the orthodox faith or, alternatively, should he fail to convert, his resignation from the title of *Caesar* and from his projected marriage to Leo's daughter. The assembled people were supported by Markellos, who encouraged them to express their grief. He told them: "The Emperor shall be subject to this oppression only for a short time; he will defeat his enemies and vanquish their power."⁸¹ Thereafter, over the din of the crowd, the Emperor Leo spoke out in a loud voice. He said that he remained in unity with the people gathered at the Hippodrome. Subsequently, they left the arena, rejoicing at the Emperor's words.

At the close of *VM* 34, the hagiographer recounts that the holy man's vision as described in the previous chapter had come true with the assassination of Aspar

λων ἢ θάτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου διαφθαρῆναι. The events described herein occurred in the years 470–471; see BURY (1958), pp. 319–320 and STEIN (1959), pp. 360–361.

⁷⁶ *VM* 34, p. 316: ...Λέοντος θυγατέρα... Most probably, the passage refers to Leontia, the younger daughter of Leo I and Verina. She remarried Marcian in 479 and supported her husband's revolt against Zeno. Thereafter, she was imprisoned in Isauria after Marcian's final defeat, cf. PLRE, p. 667. According to Lane Fox, it was Ariadne who would have been married to Patrikios, cf. LANE Fox (1997), pp. 191–192.

⁷⁷ *VM* 34, p. 316: ...Πατρίκιον... Iulius Patricius, son of Fl. Ardabur Aspar, brother of Ardabur the Younger and Herminerikos. He was of Alan descent. He was consul in 459 and held the title of *Caesar* in the years 470–471. Because of his Arian faith, the Emperor Leo promised to the Church that Patrikios would convert to orthodoxy prior to becoming *Caesar* (the events recounted in the passage discussed). He married Leontia, the Emperor Leo's younger daughter. He was removed from power upon the assassination of his father in 471; however, the sources do not agree on whether he survived Aspar's assassination. In any event, if he had been spared, he would have been forced to invalidate his marriage to Leontia, cf. PLRE pp. 842–843.

⁷⁸ The church in question is the Hagia Sophia, built by Constantius II, cf. DAGRON (1974), pp. 397–398 and TALBOT (1991b), pp. 867–868.

⁷⁹ The Hippodrome was a scene of many important political events at the capital. It was also where the people of Constantinople could see the emperor during solemn or festive occasions, cf. DAGRON (1974), pp. 314–319.

⁸⁰ The hagiographer states that the Emperor Leo agreed with the people's demands, yet yielded to pressure from Aspar and Ardabur, cf. *VM* 34, p. 317.

⁸¹ *VM* 34, p. 318: ...θλιβῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἔχει πρὸς ὀλίγον ὁ βασιλεὺς, νικῆσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ καθελεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν δύναμιν.

and his sons.⁸² According to the vision, Lion was the Emperor Leo, Dragon – the renegade⁸³ who was the leader of the enemies of God (i.e., of the Arians).

The Emperor

In the chapters discussed above, the Emperor is represented as a weak ruler, unable to resist the influence and actions of the members of Aspar's family, of whom Ardabur is depicted as the most negative. The weak Emperor is not even able to ensure protection for a man persecuted by Ardabur. In the *Life of Markellos*, Aspar's family turns out to be the most powerful political force in the Empire.

At the same time, however, it should be noted that the representation of the "weak-willed ruler" is not entirely negative; in the hagiographer's view, neither Leo nor anybody else was in a position to oppose the Alan commander and his sons. This is also confirmed by the holy man's night vision and the events at the Hippodrome.

In Markellos' vision, the emperor is represented as a lion, an obvious reference to Leo's name;⁸⁴ at the same time, the image stands for the brave animal defeating the dragon. Besides, it is evident that the sympathies of both the author and the holy man are with Leo I. The Emperor is the one who confronts the heretical renegade and shares the views of the Church (as expressed by Markellos and Gennadios) on the controversial issue of Patrikios' faith. Having obtained the popular support at the capital, the Emperor takes an action against Patrikios' religious affiliation.

There is no information on the Emperor's attitude to Markellos during the course of the controversy, while the hagiographer's approach to the figure of Leo I is favourable. This can be seen clearly in the closing passages of VM 34, which include the explanation of Markellos' night vision and the hagiographer's view that Leo I had been behind the murder of Aspar and his sons,⁸⁵ an act which had no impact on the author's overall appraisal of the Emperor.

It appears that Markellos himself supported Leo I, although his words at the Hippodrome would point to his defence of the orthodoxy in danger rather than of the Emperor himself. Since Patrikios' Arian confession posed a threat to the orthodox faith, the holy man decided to become involved in developments at the capital. Markellos' efforts were successful: he managed to secure the Emperor's approval of his demands with regard to Patrikios, and also Patrikios' conversion to orthodoxy. Nonetheless, he was not actually involved in the conflict between Aspar and Leo (i.e., he gave no direct support to the Emperor). Consequently, closer relations between the two figures are not an issue here.

⁸² VM 34, p. 318: Ἀρδαβούριος γὰρ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐχθροῖς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας...

⁸³ VM 34, p. 318: ...ὁ λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην.

⁸⁴ An image of a lion is also represented on Leo I's coins, cf. KENT (1994), pp. 106–108.

⁸⁵ Cf. STEIN (1959), p. 361.

The emperors are also referred to in *VM* 36. The chapter is a recapitulation on Markellos' virtues and renown. Among other things, the author states that throughout the period of the holy man's activities the emperors listened to him "as to a father", considering him their teacher and doing everything he asked for.⁸⁶ As the hagiographer does not mention any particular emperor, the reader is left with the impression that the reference is to all the rulers of the period, from Theodosius II to Zeno. More probably, however, the hagiographer is not referring to all the rulers, but rather presenting correct conduct for an emperor, who was to treat the holy man as father, obeying him and following his instructions. In a way similar to the *VH*, the author refers to the *Life of Antony*, where Constantine and his sons wrote letters to Antony "as to a father."

It is worth noting the conclusion of the sentence referring to the emperors. The hagiographer makes clear that Markellos' requests as fulfilled by the emperors were always in accordance with faith in God and human law.⁸⁷ The hagiographer emphasized the holy hegumen's orthodoxy and legitimacy, which may have been necessary due to accusations of heresy voiced by adversaries of the *Akoimetoι*. At any rate, it is notable that the traditional emphasis on the orthodoxy of the holy man's faith is mentioned alongside his observance of the human law.

Let us now turn to the question of the observance of law in the *VM* and focus on the following individual cases:

- the confrontation with Ardabur in the aftermath of the controversy over John (*VM* 32),
- acting against the regulations that are conducive to violence (*VM* 11),
- acting against injustice (*VM* 36).

According to *VM* 11, where Markellos' virtues are enumerated, the holy man was "(...) a defender of the oppressed, as he opposed unwise authorities, castigated regulations favouring violence, reformed mores, without vehemence and hubris, educating with his word and recalling the Lord's warnings directed at the unjust."⁸⁸

In a similar list of the virtues at the close of the *Life of Markellos* (*VM* 36), the hagiographer notes that Markellos "sent letters of appeal to the higher officials or to those who had committed injustice, whatever it might have been", on behalf of those who had been harmed.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *VM* 36, pp. 319–320: „Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν βασιλεῖς ὡς πατρὶ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ ῥισχύνοντο ὡς διδάσκαλον, καὶ πᾶν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ αἰτούμενον ἔπραττον...

⁸⁷ *VM* 36, p. 320: „οὐδὲν γὰρ ᾗτησεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὃ μὴ εἶχεν καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν νόμον.

⁸⁸ *VM* 11, p. 296: „Ἐτι γε μὴν πᾶσιν ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις σωτήρ, ἐπειδὴ ταῖς ἀλόγοις δυναστείαις ἑαυτὸν ἀντέταπτεν καὶ τὰ βιαίως πραττόμενα διήλεγχεν καὶ μετερρῦθμιζεν τὰ ᾗθη, οὐ τραχύτητι καὶ ὕβρει χρώμενος ἀλλὰ παιδευτικοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῇ ἀναμνήσει τῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀδικοῖς ἀπειληθέντων.

⁸⁹ *VM* 36, p. 320: „ἐπέστελλεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ὁ πωσδήποτε ἀδικοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.

According to the two passages above, he acted against unjust regulations and appealed to officials on behalf of the wronged. Thus, on the one hand, the holy man is praised for his active stance against bad laws, whereas, on the other, he is also shown making appeals to Imperial officials and magistrates. Moreover, he is said to have given asylum to the aforementioned John, in defiance of Ardabur and his soldiers.⁹⁰ Generally speaking, Markellos respected the laws he regarded as fair and just, while acting against any injustice he perceived in the conduct of the authorities.

The *Life of Markellos* does not refer to any attempt on the holy man's part to initiate contact with the ruler. He is not shown writing letters or trying to establish such relations. A case in point may be the passage in *VM* 31, where, during the Emperor Leo's reign,⁹¹ Markellos predicted the outbreak of a fire in the City. Unlike the account in the *Life of Daniel Stylites* (*VD* 41), the author of the *VM* does not relate whether the holy man had intended to warn the Emperor or the Archbishop of the imminent danger, in spite of the fact that the cause of the calamity is the sins of the people.⁹² This absence is primarily due to the hagiographer's concept of his work, which, apart from a very few episodes, provides only a fairly general appraisal of relations between the holy man and the emperor.

Aspar and His Sons

The above-mentioned sections of the *VM* make reference to three members of Aspar's family. Aspar himself is viewed as a background figure, as the father of Ardabur (it is the latter who is portrayed in the most negative terms in the *VM*). Ardabur is responsible for persecuting John and his negative role in the family's conflict with the Emperor is evident. Eventually, he is depicted as the central victim of the assassination ordered by Leo I, as the author notes that Ardabur was killed along with his father and brother, even though the main target of the assassination was certainly Aspar.⁹³ It is conceivable then that the dragon-renegade from Markellos' vision is Ardabur, not Aspar, even though the latter is often mentioned alongside his son in the context of the conflict with the Emperor Leo. The relevant passages of the work describe him

⁹⁰ Markellos granted asylum to John in conformity with the Emperor's intention, i.e., according to the law.

⁹¹ *VM* 31, p. 314. The passage refers to the fire that took place in 465.

⁹² The author has a good knowledge of the tragic event, stating that the fire started at Neorion and reached the location known as Amantios' House across the strait, cf. *VM* 31, p. 314.

⁹³ *VM* 34, p. 318: Ἀρδαβούριος γὰρ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐχροῖς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπώλοντο πανωλεθρία,... The author concurs with a majority of the sources according to which Patrikios was killed along with his father (MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronica*, s. a. 471; JORDANES, *Getica* 239; VICTOR OF TUNNUNA, *Chronica* s. a. 471; EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, *Hist. Eccl.* II, 16=PRISKOS, *fr.* 61; JOHN MALALAS, *Chronographia* XIV, 40; *Chronicon Paschale* s. a. 467). Kandidos is the only one who reports that Patrikios was not assassinated, cf. PHOTIOS, *Bibliotheca* 79. On the credibility of Kandidos' information, see BLOCKLEY (1983), vol. II, p. 475.

as a wicked man, given to anger, responsible for lawless practices as well as threats against the holy man. Generally speaking, however, the hagiographer makes little use of evaluative statements, positive or negative. Aspar and his sons are berated, for the most part, for their religious affiliation, i. e., Arianism. Ardabur is represented as a renegade, whereas the cause of the popular uprising against Patrikios in Constantinople is precisely his faith (the *VM* makes no reference to reprehensible acts committed by Patrikios). For the author, however, the Alan family's Arian faith is a very significant flaw. The author also makes clear that both Aspar's family and the Emperor Leo had done much harm to one another in the course of their conflict. For this reason, the depiction is not of a black-and-white situation where Leo I is the good protagonist and his opponents are evil. Unlike his enemies, however, Leo's redeeming characteristic is his orthodox faith.

Neither Aspar nor Patrikios attempted to contact Markellos; the only exception is Ardabur in *VM* 32. Ardabur demanded that Markellos surrender John and, when it brought no result at all, he made threats against the holy man and sent his soldiers to seize the monastery and treat it as spoils of war. In contrast to the events depicted in the *Life of Hypatios*, such relations would remain negative throughout, as Markellos refused to meet Ardabur's demand, disregarded his threats, and continued in opposition, and in defiance of secular authority.

Markellos' attitude to Patrikios was, however, less negative. At the Hippodrome the holy man was concerned only with the question of pressuring the *Caesar* to change his faith. Following the success of his intervention, he ceased in his opposition to Patrikios and returned to his monastery. Markellos' actions demonstrate that he became involved in the Emperor's political affairs only for religious reasons.

As for Markellos' vision, let us note that, just as in the case of Hypatios' premonition of Nestorius' fall, the holy hegumen of the *Akoimetoι* had foreknowledge of the impending downfall of a wicked man, and shared it with others prior to the assassination of Aspar and his sons.⁹⁴

2.1.2. Relations with Imperial Officials and Prominent Figures

VM 12 describes a man named Pharetrios, the son and heir of one of the most wealthy and influential senators.⁹⁵ He had a family (his children were of juvenile age at that time), yet he decided to desert his worldly life after hearing God's calling. He arrived at Markellos' monastery together with his children, where they joined the community and became monks. At the same time, he gave his fortune to the monastery, making

⁹⁴ *VM* 33, p. 316: ...πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς Ἀρδαβουρίου ὀματῶ πατρὶ τελευταίης.

⁹⁵ *VM* 12, p. 296: Ἦν τις Φαρέτριος, υἱὸς ἀνδρὸς μέγιστον δυνηθέντος ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτῳ... Pharetrios is an otherwise unknown figure.

it possible to build a new house of prayer and some other buildings such as cells for the monks, a hostel for pilgrims, and a hospice for the infirm.

Pharetrios provided financial support for the monastery, ensuring the necessary funds for its development. It is noteworthy that he would seem to have continued exercising control and supervising these resources, as the hagiographer states that Pharetrios had erected individual buildings himself.⁹⁶ Until he had entered the monastery, the author of the *VM* views Pharetrios' life as one of luxury, a negative lifestyle.⁹⁷

VM 35, concerned with a man named Lukianos, the son of Constantine, who was influential in the Senate, presents a similar situation.⁹⁸ Lukianos abandoned his secular life and devoted himself to God under Markellos' direction. Very soon, he came to surpass the other monks in his ascetic practices.

These figures are the only individuals identified in the *VM* by name, except for Aspar and his sons associated with secular authority. As can be seen, both figures became monks at Markellos' monastery. There are no other persons in the *VM*, either officials or prominent figures, who came to the holy man to ask for healing or for any other purpose. Only in *VM* 13 is it said that a certain miracle was widely known among the elite and throughout Constantinople: the grain stored at Markellos' monastery did not run out at the time of the famine, its quantity remaining unchanged. When the famine ceased to afflict Constantinople, the officials in charge of the City sent the first of the newly received grain supplies to the monastery of the *Akoimetoι*.⁹⁹ Clearly, the holy man assisted the authorities in providing relief aid for the starving capital.

Apart from this specific episode, the hagiographer appears to be uninterested in the world beyond the monastery walls. In his view, the lifestyle of Constantinople's elite was wrong. It is difficult to draw definite conclusions on Markellos' attitude towards the representatives of the secular authorities. In fact, it is only possible to determine that he showed no hesitation in allowing Pharetrios and Lukianos to join the monastic community, as he was convinced of their firm intention to persevere with the monastic life.

2.2. Markellos' Relations with Church Authority

Markellos' relations with ecclesiastical authority, as represented in the *VM*, are limited to the following four episodes involving bishops:

⁹⁶ *VM* 12, p. 297: Τότε δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατασκευάζεται ὁ Φαρέτριος...

⁹⁷ *VM* 12, p. 297: ...οὐκ ἀγαθῆς ἐκείνης τρυφῆς...

⁹⁸ *VM* 35, p. 319: Λουκιανός τις ἦν Κωνσταντος υἱός, τοῦ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυνηθέντος. Lukianos is an otherwise unknown figure.

⁹⁹ *VM* 26, pp. 308–309. On providing grain supplies to the capital and about the famine, see TEALL (1959), pp. 87–139 and PATLAGEAN (1977), pp. 78–85.

- VM 15, bishops released from prison come to Markellos to ask for food,
- VM 23, a bishop in need comes to Markellos,
- VM 27, a certain Bishop of Chalcedon is involved in a theological discussion with Markellos,
- VM 34, Bishop Gennadios of Constantinople and Markellos participate in the controversy over Patrikios.

In VM 15 the hagiographer relates that three unnamed bishops released from prison came to Markellos and asked him for food. The holy man welcomed them cordially and let them stay at the monastery for as long as they wished. When they decided to return home, Markellos resolved to provide them with the means to make their journey possible. He told Julian, the expenses supervisor, to make sure the bishops received some gold. Julian had ten gold coins, but brought only three, one for each man. However, Markellos requested that Julian give nine pieces to the bishops, changing the tenth into pennies to be given as alms to the poor.¹⁰⁰

A very similar situation can be found in VM 23. A certain bishop in need was present during Markellos' conversation with Peter, a subdeacon at the monastery of the *Akoimetoi*.¹⁰¹ Seeing that the bishop had no means of subsistence, the holy man told Peter to give him two pieces of silver.

VM 27, in turn, recounts that one of the monks, Paul by name, was very ill and asked Markellos to come. Markellos, however, was engaged in a discussion of dogmatic issues with an unnamed Bishop of Chalcedon. He did not want to interrupt his theological deliberations, as he believed Christ would later heal the sick man. When the discussion finished, Markellos went to see Paul.

The last reference to a bishop can be found in VM 34 and concerns Gennadios of Constantinople. The events related have been described above, but it is worth recalling that during the dispute over Patrikios' Arian faith, and following the Emperor Leo's elevation of the latter to *Caesar*, the faithful led by Gennadios and Markellos assembled first at the Great Church,¹⁰² and then at the Hippodrome,¹⁰³ demanding that Patrikios convert to the orthodox faith or, should he fail to do so, that the Em-

100 In this narrative, the hagiographer highlights Markellos' acts of charity. He reports that the monastery was rewarded for the assistance given to the bishops and received 90 pieces of gold from a man sent by God. On this occasion, Markellos told Julian that if he had given ten (instead of nine) coins to the bishops, the monastery would have received 100 pieces, and thus Julian had made it poorer by ten gold coins. According to the VM, Julian would at a later date become Bishop of Ephe-sus, cf. VM 15, pp. 299–300.

101 VM 23, p. 306: ...ἐπίσκοπός τις ἀπορῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

102 VM 34, p. 317: ...Γεννάδιος, ὁ τὴν μεγάλην τότε ἔχων ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγιώτατος Μάρκελλος,...

103 VM 34, p. 317: ...ὑπὸ ἡγεμόσιν Γενναδίῳ τε καὶ Μαρκέλλῳ...

peror divest him of the title. Gennadios was accompanied by a great number of priests, Markellos – by a large group of monks.¹⁰⁴

In all of the above accounts, the bishops came to seek Markellos' aid or support. As their personal situations were very difficult, Markellos offered them all the assistance that his monastery could afford and his overall attitude to these bishops was very positive. The hagiographer depicts Markellos as the leader of a great and prosperous monastery that was concerned with providing material support for the members of the church hierarchy in need. Markellos himself is represented as a benefactor of the bishops, although the actual initiative to establish contacts was made by the bishops themselves. Bishops in need are a rare phenomenon in the Late-Antique Church, and almost absent from early Constantinopolitan hagiography. Accounts of the poverty among the lower-ranking clergy are much more frequent.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, there is some evidence relating to poor bishops in other regions.¹⁰⁶ The bishops' captivity mentioned in *VM* 15 may have been a result of the conflicts with Barbarian tribes.¹⁰⁷

Markellos is depicted as a significant figure of the Church. Apart from financial support, he also provided the bishops with assistance in order to resolve their difficult situation. The account of the controversy over Patrikios makes it clear that the Patriarch would not have been able to intervene successfully without the hegumen's aid. Similarly, Markellos' discussion with the Bishop of Chalcedon reflects the important role that Markellos and his monastery performed at a time of dogmatic disputes within the Church. Even though the hagiographer does not make any mention of the holy man's involvement in the anti-Eutychian opposition, *VM* 27 depicts Markellos as an authority on the faith-related issues. The aforementioned Bishop of Chalcedon (the seat of the Fourth Council) visited the holy man to ask for his advice.¹⁰⁸ Markellos, for his part, attached so much weight to his discussion with the bishop that he decided to carry on with deliberations and postponed healing an ailing man who had asked Markellos to come and help him.

The chapters devoted to the bishops in need and the Bishop of Chalcedon indicate that the monastery constituted the centre of Markellos' world. An exception to

104 *VM* 34, p. 317: Καὶ ἦν περὶ μὲν τὸν πατριάρχην πλῆθος κληρικῶν, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην πλῆθος μοναχῶν,...

105 Cf. JONES (1986), p. 908. Considerable discrepancies in the financial condition of individual bishoprics are attested in the sources, cf. JONES (1986), pp. 904–906; M. B. LESZKA (2000), p. 18. On the financial situation of the Church, see also HALL (2000), pp. 741–742.

106 For instance, Severos of Antioch refers in one of his letters to Bishop Musianios of Meole, who complained that he did not even have six *solidi*. Severos provided him with an annual subsidy of twelve *solidi*. Cf. SEVEROS OF ANTIOCH, *Ep.* I, 4.

107 The hagiographer may have witnessed similar events in the 530s.

108 The account of this particular event is very sketchy. The author does not state any specific information on the identity of the Bishop of Chalcedon with whom Markellos carried on his theological discussions. It is not known whether the bishop had been invited to the monastery or had arrived on his own initiative.

this was the Patrikios controversy, where the holy man left his monastery and went to Constantinople. In all other cases, the bishops were the ones who visited Markellos.

Unlike the authors of the *Life of Hypatios* and the *Life of Alexander*, the hagiographer of Markellos describes harmonious relations between the hegumen of the Sleepless Monks and the bishops. There is no mention of actual or potential disagreements. Markellos (as opposed to Hypatios) was not a wandering monk, and his arrival at the Hippodrome of Constantinople can be seen as an exceptional occurrence, and, in Gennadios' eyes, a matter of great expediency.

The account of the controversy over Patrikios also depicts a harmonious relationship between the Bishop of Constantinople and the monastic movement. The events at the Hippodrome demonstrated the two pillars of the Church in action: the clergy led by Gennadios and the monks gathered around Markellos. However, unlike Daniel during the course of Basiliskos' usurpation, the holy hegumen was not the leader of the entire Church of Constantinople. He only headed the monastic movement involved in this defence of orthodoxy, alongside the bishop.

The author does not refer to relations between Markellos and priests.¹⁰⁹ Curiously, he does not even mention the holy man's priestly ordination. Only in *VM* 8 is it said that Markellos had become a deacon.¹¹⁰ Conversely, the hagiographer reports extensively on Markellos' relations with other monasteries and their superiors. For instance, in *VM* 13, he notes that Markellos assigned superiors and shrine custodians, as well as teachers, to all the new monastic foundations of Constantinople.¹¹¹ The hagiographer also states that Markellos can be considered the founder of many monasteries all over the capital (*VM* 14). As can be seen, Markellos acted as a protector of the newly established monastic communities of Constantinople. It is evident that the hagiographer highlights Markellos' stature in monastic circles; for example, in *VM* 23, he notes that all the hegumens treated the holy man with respect. The author also mentions the names of a number of superiors who held Markellos in high regard or wished to meet him: Sergios, hegumen of the monastery near the Euphrates (*VM* 22),¹¹² Elissaios, hegumen of the monastery in the vicinity of Edessa (*VM* 23), Gaudioilos, hegumen of the monastery at Pompeiopolis in Pontus (*VM* 24). This corresponds

109 The only representative of the lower-ranking clergy (*VM* 21) is the deacon Eugenius, custodian of St Andrew's shrine, whose wife came down with a high fever after childbirth. Eugenius asked the holy man to help her. Markellos blessed the bread that was to be placed on the bosom of the ailing woman. As a result, the deacon's wife recovered from her illness. The above-mentioned shrine of St Andrew is not mentioned in any other source, cf. DAGRON (1968), p. 278, n. 3. Janin collected information referring to churches dedicated to St Andrew the Apostle, but this is often very limited and relates to no earlier than the 6th century, cf. JANIN (1953), pp. 31–36.

110 As is known from other sources, especially Council documents, Markellos was ordained a priest, cf. MANSI, vol. VI, col. 753: Μάρκελλος ὁ ἐλάχιστος πρεσβύτερος, καὶ ἀρχιμάνδριτης, ὑπέγραψα τῇ καθαρῶσει Εὐτυχοῦς χειρὶ ἐμῇ.

111 Notably, the famous foundation of patrician Stoudios in 463, with monks from Markellos' monastery.

112 The monastery on the Euphrates may have been founded by Alexander *Akoimetos*, cf. *Val* 31.

with Markellos' image as represented during the events at the Hippodrome, where he can be seen acting as the supreme head of all the monks of Constantinople. As a result, Markellos *Akoimetos* was the superior of the monks, but not of the Church as a whole. His activities would however remain in harmony with the prelates of the Church. He acted as the bishops' advisor and benefactor, assisting those who were in need.

Summing up the question of Markellos' relations with the authorities, his relationship with the emperor was of a very limited character, though the author does say that the rulers would often communicate with Markellos, approaching him "as a father." Equally limited were the holy man's relations with representatives of the secular authorities. As in several instances involving bishops, Markellos did not make any effort to establish relations. Generally speaking, Markellos' activity was confined to precincts of his monastery (with a notable exception during the controversy over Patrikios). For this reason, all relations with authority figures mentioned in the *VM* were initiated by those in authority, not the holy man himself. Markellos castigated the faults and sins of those in authority, even when he regarded them as wrong, in defiance of their decisions. Much as he tried to avoid illegitimate conduct, he did not hesitate to follow through with radical action. Contentious situations involved wicked men, such as Aspar and his sons (followers of the Arian faith); though, as noted, Markellos' intervention at the Hippodrome was motivated by religious, not political, considerations. The hagiographer highlights the specific rules observed at the monastery of the Sleepless Monks. At least according to custom, it was to fulfil the function of asylum. Unlike Hypatios, who agreed to secular intervention within the precincts of the monastery (which, incidentally, the authorities in question did not attempt), Markellos firmly opposed Ardabur's demand, and refused to surrender the fugitive John. The holy man is represented as a figure dedicated to the orthodox faith, always acting in agreement with the bishops. Once again, the hagiographer demonstrates the ideal model for the holy man: "father" to the rulers and a loyal aid for the bishops. A new aspect of that ideal model was his dominant position vis-à-vis the entire monastic milieu of Constantinople, leading the monastic movement and attending to the needs of the newly founded monasteries. As a matter of fact, Markellos' position was very different from those of Hypatios and Alexander, as Markellos was the head of a prosperous monastery and the material resources at his disposal were much larger than those of his predecessors. He could give gold coins to those in need, yet he was also able to attract a number of wealthy donors. This is another significant element in the model of the holy man as he built up his influence within the Church.

**Part V: The Hagiographical Ideal of the Relationship
between the Holy Man and Authority and
the Historical Basis for Such Relations**

Before summing up on relations between the holy man and authority, it is worth emphasising that Constantinople was the seat of the supreme secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The presence of the emperor and his court, as well as the many important political and religious events that took place in the capital, would often lead the holy man dwelling at or near the capital to communicate and enter into relations with various figures of authorities.

1. Secular Authority

The representation of relations between the holy man and the secular authorities in the four *vitae* I have discussed is less varied than that of relations between the holy man and the church authorities. The hagiographers, beginning from Kallinikos, present the ideal holy man as a figure performing the role of the “father,” protector, and patron of both the emperor and his power structure. In the *VH*, Theodosius II wrote letters to Hypatios “as to a father” (*VH* 37); Alexander claimed the right to point out mistakes to the *magister militum* at Antioch (*VAI* 39); Markellos, alongside Bishop Gennadios, proved instrumental in pressuring the new *Caesar* to convert to the orthodox faith (*VM* 34), whereas the emperors should adhere to Markellos himself “as to a father” (*VM* 36). Finally, Daniel became the emperors’ protector and counsel.¹ However, the holy men did not make any attempt to establish relations with the authorities.² They would not seek closer relationships with the inner circles of power, but were visited and consulted by various representatives from the authorities. The holy man was to become a very special figure in the representatives’ eyes, a figure to whose spiritual guidance the representative should submit. Moreover, the holy man had the right to admonish and exhort authority figures to change their ways and make necessary improvements. As can be seen, Alexander reproached the *magister militum* of Antioch for his negligence, Hypatios opposed the reinstatement of the Olympic games at Chalcedon by the *praefectus urbis* Leontios (*VH* 33), whilst Daniel urged Zeno to mend his ways before he died (*VD* 91). At times, when a member of the secular authorities failed to defer to the holy man conflict was inevitable, as can be observed in the case of Alexander. Still, this was a fairly unusual situation. The emperor, officials, court, or military figures, were aware of the advantages afforded by the holy man’s activity, such as healing, blessing, prophecy, and offering God’s protection through intercession.

¹ For instance in *VD* 56, where Leo would seek Daniel’s counsel on the question of sending a military expedition against the Vandals.

² With the exception of situations when the holy man wanted to warn the ruler of imminent dangers to the City or the Church (cf. *VD* 41, where Daniel warned Leo of a conflagration threatening Constantinople). However, in general, the initiative to establish relations would rest with the Emperor, cf. SEIBER (1977), p. 61.

Moreover, the holy man was regarded as a symbol of opposition to the evil (= unworthy) authority, as seen in the cases of Basiliskos (VD) and Ardabur (VM). Of course, the holy man's resistance to ignoble authority was inextricably linked with his struggle against heresy, as heretics and persecutors of the Church were bad emperors, usurpers, unworthy of their power and authority.³ It was the emperor's duty to protect the Church and orthodoxy; he was summoned by God to fulfil his obligations and thus any deviation from the orthodox course would prove that he was not chosen by God and was not, by extension, a legitimate ruler. Consequently, the opposition to heresy would become the holy man's first and foremost "political" duty, as authority had to be free from heretical inclination. Although the four *vitae* I have discussed do not say much about the nature of heresy, it is clear that the holy man was ready to defend the orthodox faith of the Church, even risking his own life.

It was however the duty of the emperors, dignitaries and officials to provide support and assistance to the holy man, thus making the continuation of his activities possible. Alexander *Akoimetos*, for instance, journeyed under the protection offered by the Imperial troops (VAI 33), whereas the other holy men obtained material support from the emperor and high-ranking figures.

In spite of this predominantly uniform vision of the relations between the holy men and the secular authorities as depicted by the hagiographers, there are some marked differences among the *vitae* in question. The *Life of Alexander* clearly stands out in this regard, primarily due to the location and character of Alexander's ascetic practices: there was simply much less opportunity to be in contact and interact with wealthy and influential figures in territories along the Empire's frontier than in or near the capital. The *Life of Daniel* has its own specific character as well. Unlike the VAI, it is filled with accounts of political events (the authors of the other three *vitae* do not show so much interest in politics and public affairs). Nonetheless, this represents only a shift (though, at times, a significant one) in emphasis on certain points related to the composition of the hagiographic work, while the essence of the ideal model for relations between the holy man and secular authority remains unchanged.

It appears that this hagiographic vision, consistently propagated, was not far removed from the reality known by the authors. The holy man had much to offer both to figures of authority and society at large. The fact that the holy men's "clientele" in the *vitae* is overwhelmingly comprised of figures of authority is most probably the effect of the hagiographers' inclination to follow the very common human tendency to attach particular importance to connections with the highest echelons of power, as well as potential readers' prevailing expectations as to the content of hagiographic works.⁴ It did not mean that those relations were invented by the authors. More like-

³ Cf. SEIBER (1977), p. 60.

⁴ Cf. BROWNING (1981), p. 127.

ly, they were selected from many examples. The question then remains what the holy man could really offer to the emperor, officials, and other prominent figures.

The primary aim of the emperor's visits was his wish to receive the holy man's **blessing**. This provided the ruler with **public sanction** for his actions,⁵ i.e., above all, recognition of the legitimacy of one representative of God (the emperor) was provided by another (the holy man summoned by God).⁶ Basiliskos failed to secure such legitimacy for himself, and the holy man's firm refusal to confer it on him contributed to the usurper's downfall (VD 71).⁷ The holy man's recognition or denial of the emperor's legitimacy was closely linked with the authority possessed by the former. Basiliskos went so far as to leave the capital upon the news of Daniel's support for Akakios! Conversely, the ruler wished to **increase his authority** thanks to the holy man's own authority, in particular when his position at the capital was politically insecure. This is evident in the case of the Emperor Leo, who sought assistance in order to prevail in his ongoing conflict with Aspar. The temptation to take advantage of the holy man's personal authority for the purpose of consolidating the emperor's position must have been strong. By the same token, Zeno was in need of greater support in Constantinople. On the contrary, Theodosius II, who was "born in purple", did not have to seek confirmation of his rights to the throne, and his visits to holy men were for the most part religiously motivated and for his own edification. Intercessory **prayers** for the emperor (the holy man acting as an earthly intermediary) played a significant role, and could contribute to the good ruler's success, while the holy man's **condemnation** could bring divine punishment upon the bad emperor.

Another remarkable quality of the holy man was his **gift of clairvoyance**.⁸ Foretelling the future had political implications and proved invaluable in decision-making, especially in decisions of strategic importance.⁹ In Late Antiquity, as Peter

5 Cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 166, where the Emperor Heraclius is shown asking the holy man for a blessing before embarking on his Persian campaign.

6 Cf. SEIBER (1977), p. 67. An abundance of miracles and the presence of miracle-working figures associated with a given emperor during his reign were the surest signs of God's blessing, while the ruler's personal piety was to assure that the Empire would enjoy good fortune and prosperity, cf. CHESNUT (1986), pp. 182–188 and BROWN (1992), p. 134. On the important role of monks at the Imperial court, see also FREND (1972), pp. 15–24.

7 Cf. ZACHARIAH OF MITYLENE, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5, 5; also FREND (1973), p. 172.

8 Cf. *Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris* 202–204, where the stylite foretold the succession of a new emperor as well as the election of a new patriarch; *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 54 – Theodore foretold to Maurice that he would be elevated to emperor and *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 134, where Theodore prophesied the fate of the Empire.

9 Cf. SALAMON (1996b), p. 174. Astrological knowledge, oracles, and people with prophetic abilities were all used or consulted for political purposes. One of the most renowned soothsayers of the period was Pamprepios of Panopolis. On the political horoscopes of the period, cf. PINGREE (1976), pp. 135–150 and NEUGEBAUER, VAN HOESSEN (1959), pp. 141–152. Foretelling the future was not an exclusively pagan domain, as some oracular pronouncements were composed or formulated by Christians, notably the oracle of Baalbek (established sometime between 502 and 506), cf. ALEXANDER (1967), pp. 136–137.

Brown rightly notes, the holy man assumed the role of an ancient oracle.¹⁰ It was therefore vital for the emperor to win over the assistance of such a holy clairvoyant.

It is also evident that the holy man was **alien** to the milieu of Constantinople. He came to the capital from the country and was not involved, at least in the hagiographers' view, in politically motivated activity either in the city or at the Imperial court.¹¹ The holy man was also independent of the church authority. Hence, Gubazes and Leo entrusted their agreement to Daniel for arbitration, as they both trusted in his unbiased judgement and impartiality (VD 51). The holy man could provide the emperor with good **counsel**, thus acting in the capacity of advisor.¹² It is also worth noting that the holy man's distance from political factions was reflected in his residence **on the outskirts of Constantinople**.¹³ Hypatios, Daniel, Markellos, as well as Isaac, had all chosen to dwell outside of the city walls.¹⁴ Alexander was the only one to have attempted to establish his monastery in the central district of the capital, but his effort ended in failure. Taking up residence beyond the walls of Constantinople clearly contributed to the holy men's greater independence.

The emperor, and members of the ruling elite in particular, would also seek the holy man's aid and assistance in situations when a **miracle** was needed. Leo, Cyrus, Urbikios, and many others, would visit the holy man to be healed or beg for their relatives to be healed, to ask for intercessory prayers (e.g., to be given a long-awaited son), and for various other reasons.¹⁵ More often than not, **friendly relations** between the holy man and figures of authority were the consequence of the miracles experienced and, as a result, members of the ruling elite comprised a large number of the holy man's friends. As shown, Urbikios (VH 12), Cyrus (VD 31–32, 36), and Mark (VD 23–25) all maintained very close relations with holy men.¹⁶

Quite obviously, the favourable representation of many figures of authority in the four *vitae* was due to the **reliance of the holy men and their monastic communities on the patronage of influential and wealthy figures**. The holy men could not function in the metropolitan region without the material support provided by various

¹⁰ Cf. BROWN (1971), p. 93.

¹¹ Cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 254. Brown stresses the fact that the holy man kept his distance from political and economic questions, cf. BROWN (1971), pp. 91–93.

¹² Of course, the emperor was not the only one to whom the holy man could give his counsel, cf. *Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris* 151, where a certain *silentarios* consulted Simeon about his matrimonial plans.

¹³ Cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 238: the hagiographical tradition was distrustful of Constantinople.

¹⁴ Hypatios was not content with living in the city, cf. VH 8; Saturninos built an extra-mural cell for Isaac, cf. *Vita Isaaci* 251F–252 A; Daniel Stylites would not yield to Anatolios' persuasions and continued to reside outside of the capital, cf. VD 20.

¹⁵ Cf. *Vita S. Symeonis Iunioris* 208, where the Emperor Justin asked the stylite to help his daughter, who was possessed by an evil spirit.

¹⁶ Cf. *Vita Theodori Syceotae* 120 and 152: Domniziolos, Emperor Phocas' nephew, was a friend of Theodore, and the holy man interceded on his behalf with the new emperor Heraclius; cf. also SEIBER (1977), p. 68.

members of the power elite and other well-to-do patrons.¹⁷ For instance, Hypatios and his companions had starved prior to obtaining substantial aid from a rich deaconess (VH 8). It was not until Urbikios' generous donation that the growth of the monastic community at the *Rouphinianai* became possible (VH 12; VH 15). All of Daniel's columns, his monastery, and the adjoining buildings were erected with support provided by the emperor and other prominent patrons of the holy stylite (VD 25; 30; 40; 57), whereas Markellos' monastery experienced financial difficulties until it received the necessary financial support from Pharetrios (VM 12). Similarly, the *Life of Isaac* reports that the protagonist's cell was built ca. 381 thanks to the funds and land donated by Saturninos.¹⁸ Later, in 382/383, Dalmatios, a wealthy officer of the Imperial guard, became the actual founder of Isaac's monastery.¹⁹ As a general rule, the monasteries of Constantinople had at first been private foundations.²⁰ For instance, Olympia, a wealthy deaconess, founded a monastery adjacent to the Hagia Sophia,²¹ whereas the rich patrician Stoudios, established a well-known monastic foundation and brought the monks from the monastery of the *Akoimetoï* to live there.²² Due to the fact that the Church in the region of Constantinople had not been active in founding and supporting monastic establishments, the holy man's association with the secular authorities and influential figures may have been stronger than that with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and his relationship with prominent secular figures may have been closer than that with the church authorities. The hagiographers do not see anything wrong in seeking and receiving material support from the secular authorities; as a matter of fact, this was perceived as proper and commendable.

Finally, it is worth noting that the good relations between the holy man and secular authority were based on a specific kind of symbiosis and would produce mutually beneficial effects. The secular authority appreciated the holy man's merits to a greater degree than the church hierarchy and made efforts to take advantage of these merits.

¹⁷ Let us note that this situation was not unique to the region of Constantinople, cf. BROWN (1996), p. 128.

¹⁸ Cf. *Vita Isaaci* 251F-252C and LIEBESCHUETZ (1992), p. 213. Isaac's wealthy patrons also arranged for his funeral, cf. *Vita Isaaci* 253E and AL. CAMERON, LONG (1993), p. 72.

¹⁹ Cf. *Vita Dalmatii* 2.

²⁰ Cf. THOMAS (1987), p. 17 and VON FALKENHAUSEN (1979), pp. 151–155.

²¹ Cf. *Vita Olimpiaë* 6, 5–7.

²² Cf. THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, *Epitome* 384; THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 5955; NIKEPHOROS KALLISTOS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG 147, col. 68.

2. Church Authority

Unlike the ideal of the relations between the holy man and the secular authorities, the four *vitae*, composed over a period of nearly one hundred years in Constantinople, represent the **gradual transformation** of the relations between the holy man and the ecclesiastical authority. The two *vitae* written in the mid-5th century portray the holy men with an **uncompromising attitude** towards the hierarchy. In turn, the *Life of Daniel Stylites*, composed near the close of the same century, represents the holy man as a **protector** and **patron of the Church** of Constantinople, gradually accepted by the successive metropolitans, whereas the *Life of Markellos*, written in the 510s, depicts **completely harmonious mutual relations** between the ecclesiastical authority and the holy man. Notably, while the *VH* records constant differences between Hypatios and the bishops (Eulalios and Nestorius), and Alexander became embroiled in a very serious dispute with Bishop Theodotos of Antioch, neither Daniel nor Markellos were involved in contentious or controversial situations with their respective bishops. This evolution in attitudes, as reflected in the gradual mitigation of the initially tense relations between the holy men and the hierarchy of the Church, is already evident within the individual *vitae*. In the *Life of Hypatios* the holy man first became involved in a serious dispute with Eulalios, but later the bishop would come to appreciate Hypatios and respected him as a “father.” The situation depicted in the *Life of Alexander* is different, though not in the sense that a different ideal is being propagated, as the holy man still had the right to admonish the bishop and censure his faults, and almost caused a schism in the Church. Nonetheless, in the case of the aforementioned dispute in Antioch, Bishop Theodotos’ failure to defer to Alexander’s charismatic leadership underlay the whole controversy. There is no such conflict in the *Life of Daniel*, where the bishops of Constantinople, initially distrustful towards the holy man, came fairly soon to hold the stylite in high regard and showed no hesitation in calling for his assistance in times of danger. The last of the bishops featured in the *VD*, Euphemios, held the senior stylite in the utmost esteem and respect. In turn, the *Life of Markellos* depicts the holy man engaged in theological discussions with a certain Bishop of Chalcedon on equal terms, and even giving alms to destitute bishops (!), thus acting as a patron providing material support to those in need. In much the same way as Daniel, Markellos became the patriarch’s ally in the struggle against heresy.

The hagiographic ideal thus underwent a gradual evolution: from an initially superior position of the holy man to relations based on “**partnership**” and collaboration for the benefit of the Church, especially when its **orthodoxy** was in jeopardy. The transformation can be seen very clearly in the *VD*, where, in spite of the opportunity offered, Daniel did not aspire to elevate himself above the bishop. When his influence reached its peak during the controversy over Basiliskos’ usurpation, and despite Akakios’ prostration in recognition of the superiority of the holy man’s authority, Daniel returned humbly to his place at the top of the column after the threat

had passed (Daniel had in any case only descended at the bishop's request). In the same vein, Markellos complied with Gennadios' request and took part in the large-scale action against Patrikios' Arian faith.

Heretical bishops, considered unworthy, however, faced the opposition of the holy man, as attested in the case of Nestorius. Faced with heresy, the holy man would not agree to any compromise.

What then is the reason for the initial propagation of the holy man's dominant position in relation to the church hierarchy? The core of the matter would seem to be the **intense conflict** between the firmly consolidated structures of the Church in Constantinople and the holy men, the latter, having been mostly newcomers to the capital, representing a potentially volatile and restive element. At the beginning, the metropolitan hierarchy would have taken a negative view of the holy man, an attitude that was reciprocated.

This mutually acrimonious relationship arose from the significance of **heterodox influences** within Constantinople's ascetic movement. As Dagron rightly notes, the strong influence of the **Eustathian** monasticism, with its negative attitude towards the hierarchy, played a major part in the origins of the monastic movement in the capital.²³ On the strength of the hagiographic material discussed in this book, it is also worth noting the important role of the **Messalian** thought, seen in both the *Life of Hypatios* and the *Life of Alexander*. This, in my opinion, had an impact on the hagiographic ideal of the holy man represented in these works.

The other *vitae* offer a different vision, most likely influenced by changes in the monastic milieu of Constantinople. Among the crucial factors, it is worth noticing the **breakthrough** made by the Council of Chalcedon and the ensuing **theological disputes**, which were more vehement and dramatic than those related to the Nestorian controversy. The activity of monastic circles and the spiritual authority of the holy men would come to play an increasingly prominent role for the both parties involved in the dispute, i.e., both the followers and the opponents of the Council.²⁴ On the other hand, the bishops, now more aware of the weight of **monastic influence**, made efforts to win over the holy men as their **allies** in the conflicts afflicting the Eastern part of the Empire.

²³ Dagron notes that the attitudes of aversion and contempt towards the hierarchy of the Church, and monks' refusal to subordinate themselves to the hierarchy, were a natural tendency in the Eastern monasticism, but the Eustathians made it their rule, cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 243. On the Eustathian monasticism, cf. GRIBOMONT (1957), pp. 400–415; GRIBOMONT (1965), pp. 9–19; GRIBOMONT (1980), pp. 123–144 and DESPREZ (1999), pp. 13–19.

²⁴ Cf. BACHT (1953), pp. 193–314; ESCOLAN (1999), pp. 347–387; GREGORY (1979), pp. 129–201; DELEHAYE (1991), p. 45 and HARVEY (1981), pp. 37–42. In various periods of the theological controversies, many influential figures only received communion from the “blessed” hands of venerable holy men, cf. BROWN (1996), p. 137.

The new situation rendered earlier controversies less immediately significant.²⁵ Among the leading proponents of the new alliance were a number of metropolitans: Gennadios, seeking Markellos' assistance in the campaign to secure Patrikios' conversion to the orthodox faith, and Akakios, attempting to obtain Daniel's aid in the face of the dangerous situation caused by Basiliskos' usurpation. The opportunity to make an alliance in order to fight the threat of heresy must have been appealing to the holy man as well, especially as the holy man never ceased to consider himself a **guardian of orthodoxy** in the Church.²⁶ Similar initiatives can be seen in other hagiographic works: Isaac left his hermitage in the desert to meet with the Emperor Valens in order to win him over for the orthodox cause,²⁷ whereas Dalmatios, after 48 years of living in seclusion, showed no hesitation in leaving his monastery to spectacularly oppose Nestorius.²⁸

Conversely, the **change in the hagiographers' background** would have played a major role in the gradual transformation of the view of mutual relations between the holy man and the Church authorities. The authors of the *VD* and *VM* were no longer strangers from Syria, alien to the ecclesiastical structures and socio-political conditions prevalent at the capital and transferring their Syrian view of the role of the holy ascetic to Constantinopolitan realities. At the time of his work on the *VD* the author of the *Life of Daniel* was probably associated with the circles close to Bishop Euphemios, and may also have been associated with the Imperial court in an earlier period, whereas the *Life of Markellos* is indicative of the hagiographer's classical education. The process of the **absorption** of Constantinople's well-entrenched monastic element into the life of the metropolitan Church is of fundamental significance here. The hagiographers would no longer have been considered Syrian strangers, but **Constantinople-based authors**.

The first signs of the alliance between metropolitan bishops and monastic circles can be seen as early as the year 448 in connection with the Eutychian controversy, when certain sections of the Constantinopolitan monks gave their support to Flavian, thus first undermining the unity of the monastic movement in the capital.²⁹ Subsequent developments, including the Council of Chalcedon, only served to reinforce that alliance further. A role may have been played by **Council canons** referring to the monastic affairs, which aimed to regulate and enforce some discipline on the monastic movement, bringing it under episcopal control, although the effectiveness of

²⁵ Cf. ESCOLAN (1999), p. 119.

²⁶ In the earlier *vitae* as well, cf., e.g., *VH* 32, where Hypatios took his stand against Nestorius.

²⁷ *Vita Isaaci* 246B–247F. Some accounts of those events can also be found in the works of the Church historians: Sozomen and Theodoret, cf. SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 40 and THEODORET, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 34. On this issue, cf. also SNEE (1985), pp. 405–410 and DAGRON (1970), p. 232.

²⁸ Cf. *Vita Dalmatii* 12–15, cf. also NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclidis*, II, I and MANSI, vol. IV, cols. 1257–1260. On developments in Constantinople during the Nestorian controversy, see also GREGORY (1979), pp. 88–108, TEJA (1997), pp. 3–19 and DAGRON (1970), pp. 266–270.

²⁹ Cf. DAGRON (1970), pp. 271–272; BACHT (1953), pp. 206–221.

these canons may be disputed.³⁰ Gilbert Dagron goes so far as to argue that the monastic movement was in the end transformed into an institution of the Church as a consequence of the decrees of Chalcedon.³¹

The evolution of the holy men's mode of existence also came to play an important role in establishing a compromise between the holy man and church authority. Initially, **migrant newcomers from the East** who wandered and became involved in various matters of the Church gradually turned into **Constantinopolitan holy men**, known for a **more settled mode of living**, either within their monasteries (e.g., Markellos) or as stylites (Daniel). They ceased to interfere in the ecclesiastical order in an uncontrolled or unruly manner, as some of their predecessors had done in the past, e.g., Alexander (acting in opposition to Theodotos' church policy, and causing confusion at the capital) or Hypatios (taking a critical view of Eulalios' policy). The change in the actual situation and the growing acceptance of holy men in the capital induced many figures in authority to seek the assistance and counsel of the holy men. In consequence, the holy men would no longer have to go outside their establishments and stand up for their rights, as they were increasingly attracting the interest of members of the ruling elite.

3. Charismatic Authority

The four *vitae* discussed in the present study convey the idea of the existence of a third type of authority: religious charismatic authority. Like the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, it was given by God, yet with certain specific and characteristic features. First of all, it **was not subordinate to the other** two types. Its position was even **superior**, as the holy man was a **guardian of the orthodoxy** of the other two authorities, and took action when members of the ecclesiastical or secular authorities had succumbed to heresy. In the hagiographers' view, the holy man's role was to **supervise**, watching over the orthodoxy of the other authorities.

This particular authority was derived **directly** from God; it was not conferred through the sacraments of the Church or by the emperor's will. As a result, the validity of this authority must be affirmed by **charisma** received from God. For instance, Hypatios would heal the sick on numerous occasions, and Alexander was considered a prophet by the people. Daniel and Markellos were endowed with similar charismatic gifts.

This charismatic authority was not merely the hagiographers' proposition, as it was also **recognized** by the other powers. Nonetheless, recognition would have never been an instant phenomenon. Alexander was denied such acknowledgement

³⁰ On the canons of the Council of Chalcedon dealing with the monastic issues, cf. STEIDLE (1951), pp. 471–479; UEDING (1953), pp. 569–676; DAGRON (1970), pp. 272–275 and ADESI (1990), pp. 323–339.

³¹ Cf. DAGRON (1970), p. 276.

and Hypatios only obtained it after protracted conflicts with his own bishop (though he gained it much sooner from the secular authorities). Daniel and Markellos however had no difficulties being recognized.

Finally, it is worth stressing that the evolutionary process described in the present book did not disappear at the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries. In the later history of the Church, both in the Byzantine Empire and in the West, conflicts between well-established clergy, acting in alliance with the secular authorities, and charismatic holy men would continue to be a recurring phenomenon. Among the most significant examples were Simeon the New Theologian,³² Constantine Chrysomallos,³³ or, to provide an example from the Western Christendom, John of the Cross.³⁴ Due to the thematic scope of this work, I have discussed only a part of the process of divergence and mutual acceptance that characterised relations between the holy man's charismatic authority and the establishment, as this developed within the Constantinopolitan area during the course of the 5th century.

³² Simeon was sentenced and exiled by Patriarch Sisinius, cf. ŠPIDLÍK (1990), cols. 1387–1388.

³³ Constantine was tried in court in 1140, cf. GOUILLARD (1978), pp. 5–81 and GOUILLARD (1973), pp. 313–327.

³⁴ St John of the Cross came into conflict with his superiors and was imprisoned at Toledo in 1577–1578. In 1591, towards the end of his life, he was once again removed from all his functions in the order, cf. ARING (1992), cols. 447–448 and DE NICOLÁS (1996), pp. xviii–xx.

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